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CSSR-Bloc Environmental Talks Postponed

LD1802150589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Prague—The environmental protection consultations among heads of government proposed by the CSSR prime minister to the governments of the neighboring countries last December will be held at a later date than planned. So far the GDR and Hungary have officially announced that they wish to participate in the consultations. The CSSR Foreign Ministry has now announced that the preparatory talks planned for February will be held in March.

Conference To Create Employers Organization

LD1702091189 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—During a 2-day conference of representatives from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR and Poland which started today here, preparations for setting up an international organisation representing the interests of national organisations of employers not associated in the Organisation International des Employeurs were discussed.

The employers from socialist and some other countries have not been represented in elective bodies of the International Labour Organisation and particularly in its administrative council for over 30 years. The lack of proper representation of this group of employers deprives them of appropriate influence on functioning of the entire organisation. Hence, the point is to crown the over 20-year-long efforts at setting up such a representation of socialist countries at the ILO forum.

The participants in the council discussed, inter alia, the draft statute of the organisation and programmatic assumptions enabling them to gain a real and proportional influence on functioning of the ILO. The organisation's task in the future would also be creating the grounds for holding negotiations and talks with the International Organisation of Employers, EEC employers; mission and others.

'Council of Experts' Ends

LD1802125489 Warsaw PAP in English 1748 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—A 2-day council of experts debating on alternative international organisation of employers ended today here. The meeting was attended by representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR and Poland. The participants discussed the ways of coordinating the activities of these countries at the forum of the International Labour Organisation.

President of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade Tadeusz Zylkowski told PAP the following: The meeting's objective was to create organizational frames for activities of particular organisations of employers in the situation when new forms of management are being formed in socialist countries. Undoubtedly, these organisations should cooperate.

In a nutshell, preserving separate representations at the ILO, individual socialist countries will conduct a constant consultation facilitating working out a joint stand of socialised economy employers, Zylkowski said.

The participants in the Warsaw meeting have adopted a document saying that there is a need for an effective exchange of experts' views on the topics discussed by ILO and other organisations. The next meeting on these topics wil be held the coming April in Prague.

Romanian Envoy Addresses Geneva Arms Conference

AU1602212289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2029 GMT 16 Feb 89

["Romanian Representative's Address to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 16/02/1989—Taking the floor during the general debates conducted within the disarmament conference in Geneva, Romania's representative referred to the unilateral cuts in arms, troops and military spending announced by the USSR and other socialist countries and mentioned that Romania, which has unswervingly stated against the arms race and against the rise in military budgets, underscored, as early as 1985, the need for unilateral measures to reduce armed forces, nuclear ones included, as well as the possibility of applying those measures without affecting the security interests of the respective states. In November 1986, Romania itself effected a 5-10 per cent cut in its arms, troops and military spending, which hopefully would be an example for other countries.

He also stressed that in the current circumstances it was impossible to secure real and equal security for all if action was taken in isolation to eliminate one or the other of the two types of weapons of mass destruction—nuclear and chemical arms.

Romania, which has neither nuclear nor chemical weapons, intends to never produce like weapons considering that firm, phased-out action is needed to eliminate those weapons in the shortest possible time, by putting an end to their production and testing, by scrapping all nuclear and chemical stockpiles, by outlawing them, the speaker said.

In consideration of current realities, the session of the disarmament conference should contribute to laying the foundations of an effective process of negotiations on nuclear and chemical disarmament to proceed simultaneously. Those steps should be regarded unitarily as the component parts of a package of actions intended to contribute to world stability, to place interstate relations on new-type bases of equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, the elimination of the use and threat of force.

As for nuclear disarmament, the speaker said, Romania is for intensified talks between the USSR and the USA on a 50-per cent cut in their strategic weapons and for the conclusion of an accord in that area this year. Furthermore, the need was underscored for negotiations, to be attended by all the states, on the total liquidation of nuclear weapons, which should be outlawed. Furthermore, in that area, the following proposals were formulated:

—An urgent passage to the elaboration of a universal treaty on a ban and on the total, phased-out elimination of all nuclear weapons. Like accord should provide for a ban on the production, improvement and testing of nuclear weapons, for the scrapping of the existing stockpiles of nuclear vehicles;

—The creation of a special organism, including all the nuclear powers and the other states, to the end of negotiating the universal treaty aimed at banning and liquidating nuclear arms;

—A passage to palpable negotiations on the elimination of short-range tactical weapons;

—The withdrawal of those weapons, until all nuclear weapons are liquidated, to within national frontiers by the states possessing like weapons;

—The creation of nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zones, with the nuclear and chemical weapons being regarded in close unity so that as large as possible regions of the world may be spared the threat posed by those weapons of mass destruction;

—The transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, cooperation and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign troops and military bases, the establishment of like zones in other regions of the world.

Steps were also suggested for a ban on nuclear tests.

As for a ban on and the scrapping of chemical weapons—considering the interdependence between chemical and nuclear arms—it was suggested that a convention on the liquidation of chemical weapons and the universal treaty to ban and totally eliminate nuclear weapons should be worked out and implemented.

Furthermore, tangible proposals were made concerning the prevention of the arms race in the outer space, the prohibition of radiological weapons and of other arms of mass destruction, a ban on attacks on nuclear installations used for peaceful purposes, as well as proposals for improved activities and a growing efficiency of the disarmament conference.

Iraq's Ramadan Continues Official Visit

Talks With Atanasov

AU2102200489 Sofia BTA in English
1833 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Bulgaro-Iraqi relations are developing well and there are possibilities for their activation in compliance with the new conditions.

The visit to Bulgaria of Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, first deputy prime-minister of Iraq, which started today is aimed at the outlining of the future interrelations on a long-term basis after the termination of the conflict in the Persian Gulf and at a moment when active steps are undertaken from the Bulgarian side for the restructuring in all spheres of public life.

At the official talks between Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria and the Iraqi governmental leader information was exchanged on the two countries' socio-economic development. The Bulgarian side informed on the restructuring of the national economy, on the new forms of management of economy and the changes in the political systems.

The Iraqi guest dwelled on that country's processes of restoration after the war, and commented the actions directed at the regulation of the situation in the Persian Gulf and cleared out the aims of the currently founded council for Arab cooperation.

The sides expressed the opinion that there are possibilities for active interelation in all branches of economy and for transition to other promising forms of economic relations.

In the discussions of the issues of international relations a similarity and closeness in the two countries' positions on global issues of the present day were found and support was expressed for the Soviet Union peace initiatives and for the new political thinking and the speech of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet party and state leader delivered at the last session of the UN General Assembly was highly commended.

Bulgaria and Iraq support the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and think that no settlement of the Middle East issues is possible without the settlement of the Palestinian issue. The two countries support the decisions of the 9th session of the Palestinian National Council.

It was also indicated that the Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council is a good basis for the regulation of the relations between Iraq and Iran.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government dwelled on the efforts of Bulgaria directed at the strengthening of peace, good-neighbourliness, security and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in other parts of the world.

Tomorrow the final talks are to be held and the signing of documents is expected.

Attends Dinner

AU2102203989 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] On 21 February in the halls of the Vitosha hotel, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an official dinner for Taha Yasin Ramadan, Iraq's first deputy premier, and the officials who are accompanying him. The dinner, which took place in an informal and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrade Grigor Stoichkov, ministers, leaders of sociopolitical organizations, and representatives of the business circles.

Politburo Meeting With Intelligentsia Concludes

Speeches Reported

AU2202113889

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21 February, on pages 1 and 4, carries a 3,000-word report, under the headline "Active Participants in the Renewal Processes," on the 1st day of a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with figures from the arts, science, culture, and education, held in the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 20 February.

The meeting was opened and chaired by Yordan Yotov, who first gave the floor to Todor Zhivkov. Zhivkov made an introductory speech, referring to his 15,000-word report to the meeting, which had been distributed in advance to the participants.

A discussion then developed on Zhivkov's report and introductory speech. Boyan Traykov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union and chief director of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, is reported as speaking "on the varied and highly responsible tasks of journalism." "Information is not only a professional and social requirement," Traykov is quoted as saying, "but also a unique form and means of power, which now has to be redistributed. Everything that is connected with society and the state; with their past, present, and future; that relates to the nation's work, everyday life, security, and political and intellectual life; that concerns citizens' obligations and rights; and that affects people's interests and stirs them must be quickly and accurately made known and accessible to the people." Traykov then spoke on the role of the journalist in promoting glasnost, but warned: "Certain people think that glasnost might be used to demagogically disseminate ill-intentioned rejections, and even antisocial aspirations. There must be complete clarity and no ambiguity about glasnost. It does not provide soil in which petty-bourgeois or other anti-socialist sentiments may flourish. My words do not call for a limitation of glasnost, because I am speaking of matters that have nothing in common with its essence and aim. I would say the following regarding the limits of glasnost: Socialism's entire path of suffering has brought us to glasnost. Glasnost is a revolutionary socialist achievement that we hold dear, and I envisage that it should be without limit for the ideas and scope of socialism."

Prof Petur Anastasov, director of the "Khristo G. Danov" state publishing house in Plovdiv, reportedly pointed out in his speech that the intelligentsia "must fully realize its responsibility for the fate of restructuring" and set aside all personal interests. He then noted: "Recently, the problems of glasnost and restructuring have become the subject of a number of speculations prompted from abroad by well-known circles in the West.... Unfortunately, respected, creative Bulgarians have also been drawn into these speculations." According to the report, Anastasov said that he thought that "these Bulgarians, together with all their colleagues, will realize the need to distance themselves from those who speculate and indulge in demagogy on the problems of restructuring."

Prof Deyan Pavlov, deputy director of the Institute for Contemporary Social Theories, reportedly spoke of the acknowledgement of the need for free exchange of ideas: "We are engaging in the new world processes in conditions of contradictions with the other system. However, we do not stand for hostilely setting ourselves apart from any country; we do not close our doors to free movement of people, goods, and ideas; and support everything that conforms to the new philosophy and policy of interdependent coexistence between East and West. However, this does not mean that we 'open ourselves up' to those extremist political and ideological circles in the West that are conducting an organized campaign against the socialist countries to destabilize them and to impose a different political system in Bulgaria. The honest struggle between ideologies has nothing in common with organizing slanderous campaigns, such as those now being waged against Bulgaria by certain American and other radio stations and individual newspapers." Pavlov warned that all intellectuals must be on their guard against such attempts.

Prof Toma Vurbanov, director of the "N. Pavlov" Higher Institute of Representational Art, reportedly spoke about various questions relating to aesthetic and arts education, pointing out that this area of education was lagging behind. He voiced his colleagues' concern with the poor standard of drawing and music lessons in Bulgarian schools. Prof Georgi Robev, chairman of the Musicians Union, also spoke critically concerning the lack of attention given to musical and aesthetic education.

The report concludes with a resume of the speech by Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, who addressed the problem of restructuring the work of the scientific institutes. He reportedly said that the Academy of Sciences was currently engaged in discussions with the various institutes and research centers on drawing up specific scientific projects for such reorganization. According to the report, Sendov pointed out "the crying needs of the active creative worker in science that had emerged in the discussions, such as a better system for the supply of materials and apparatuses, a better system for getting scientific information and making contacts with international science, and a better system for the publication of scientific works." Sendov reportedly also spoke on the need to reject monopolies in science, on cooperation with other countries, and on the needs of the young scientist.

Meeting Ends 21 Feb

AU2102200689 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Today the meeting of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP with representatives of art, science, culture and education ended.

The two-day meeting was assessed by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, as an extremely important contribution to the greatly needed exchange of opinions and to the maintenance of the constant dialogue with this nation's creative intellectual forces. In its final speech Mr Zhivkov stressed the need of a firm unity of the intellectuals.

Scholars, writers, artists, actors, architects, journalists, musicians, educated people—representatives of different generations expressed their opinions at the meeting.

Mr Todor Zhivkov's speech "The Restructuring of Our Society: Vocation and Responsibility of the Intellectuals" and his opening was in the base of the two-day talks. [sentence as received]

Support for Party Line Shown

AU2202091889 Sofia BTA in English
0840 GMT 22 Feb 89

["Vote of the Intellectuals"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA commentator Lyubomir Dimitrov)—The BCP leadership thinks that the people working in the sphere of science, culture and arts must undertake high obligations in the restructuring of the society, must turn it into "their own vocation and responsibility": Such is the main idea in the report of Mr Todor Zhivkov at the meeting of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP with representatives of the intelligentsia. The meeting ended yesterday at noon after a 16-hour discussion.

What is the answer of the intellectuals? A number of statements in the press, studies and polls speak that it supports the party course of innovation. It is true that some of yesterday's inertia can still be seen. There are doubts, as well as a deliberate distancing from the adopted line. But the latter refers only to separate individuals and isolated groups and neither their number nor their arguments can make them speakers of the intelligentsia. Their motives are too shady and make their vote cheap.

But now we speak of the meeting. Hundreds of intellectuals attended it: representatives of all intellectual circles and professions, of all generations.

It was only natural that at the present degree of the sociopolitical life in Bulgaria (it is predetermined by the processes of restructuring) the meeting had to have expressive discussion character. [sentence as received] It was so. There were opinions which coincided, complemented or excluded each other. But everything confirmed categorically that the intelligentsia supports the innovation processes, thinks them as a chief and indispensable task. And even more, it became clear that the engagements of the intellectuals in connection with restructuring are not limited in the intellectual sphere but refer to the entire social pratice. That coincides with the position of the party leadership explicitly formulated in mr Todor Zhivkov's report.

The forthcoming congresses of the creative organizations will determine the more concrete obligations that will be undertaken by the intelligentsia. But the meeting also gave good picture of that. Most of all it will work for the broadening of democracy, for the consolidation of "glasnost" as constant principle in social life. In this respect there is still a lot to be done, although the horizon of glasnost becomes ever more wider, a number of yesterday's "taboos" are eliminated one by one.

But the "glasnost" cannot be the ground for ill-intentioned speculations and anti-socialist attempts, stressed a number of the speakers. They condemned the attempts of certain groups and persons to discredit the course of restructuring in Bulgaria, to suggest to the world that the leadership of this country violates the engagements it had undertaken. It has been reiterated at the meeting that Bulgaria greets and will fulfil the Vienna agreements in their entire spectre. She respects and will respect the rights and the freedoms of her citizens. But she cannot agree with "platforms" and actions which are in full contradiction with the Constitution and the respective laws, in contradiction with the moral code of the people.

The task for restructuring of the unions of writers, artists, etc., was discussed widely. Their creative character and their "syndicalization" should be outlined more strongly. The choice of forms in this respect will be the tasks and care of their members. The most important fact is to create favourable conditions for self-government, for full-blooded activity, freed of the signs of administration, monopolism, etc. Great hopes are laid on the company organizations and the publishing houses, a new level in the economic democracy.

It was indicated at the meeting that both the party and the intelligentsia stand for the development of socialist pluralism and consider it an important condition for social renovation. The party is interested in the establishment of various clubs, companies, etc., to be able to carry an active social dialogue on all issues which the society is facing and look for alternative solutions even to the price of heated diputes. The important thing is to develop the nation's creative forces for the building of the new society.

Involvement in Espionage in Italy Denied

AU2102190389 Sofia BTA in English
1845 GMT 21 Feb 89

["Groundless Accusations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Yesterday some of the Italian mass media and today the world telegraph agencies circulated the announcement that a certain spy network has been discovered in Italy, in which the name of a Bulgarian citizen is mentioned.

In relation with that the BTA looked for information. The competent Bulgarian bodies said that it is not known that the Bulgarian citizen Ivo Simeonov, who is living and working in Bulgaria, has carried out anti-legal actions neither in this country nor in other countries, either.

Bearing in mind the objective facts the spread allegations can be classified only as a new attempt to make groundless claims against our country, and to create ill-feelings against Bulgaria.

Dissident Malanov Ends Month-Long Hunger Strike

AU2102155089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
21 Feb 89 p 3

[Ulrike Rudberg report: "Bulgarian Dissident Ends Hunger Strike"]

[Excerpt] Sofia—Bulgarian dissident Petur Manolov has ended his hunger strike after 1 month. After the authorities returned the documents to him, the 50-year-old writer and journalist felt he had achieved his goals. This has been confirmed by his "fellow fighter" Lubomir Sobadizhev, who was released from custody on 11 February after 31 days. [passage omitted]

Soviet Withdrawal From Afghanistan Viewed

AU2102143489 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
20 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Pavel Pisarev, TRUD foreign policy commentator: "Afghanistan—Struggle and Drama"]

[Excerpts] General Gromov, the last Soviet soldier, has left Afghanistan. A page in the annals of history has been closed, and what a page! It is devoted to the Afghanistan drama—500,000 Afghans were killed and injured, 5 million of them fled their homes, 15,000 Soviet young men were killed, 30,000 of them were wounded and crippled in a period of peacetime for the Soviet people. Tremendous material losses, a ruined country, and R50 billion in military expenditures for the Soviet Union—those were the results of the aforementioned historic events.

The limited Soviet contingent spent 9 years in Afghanistan. This is a longer period than the duration of World Wars I and II altogether. Notwithstanding the fact that the two sides possessed modern weapons and numerous troops, no military victory was achieved. This was a regional conflict of worldwide importance and a civil war in which each side was backed by a great power. The military parity between the USSR and the United States, between socialism and imperialism, exerts its influence on local wars which affect the interests of both system. No one can be victorious in this kind of war any longer.

Worldwide reaction is trying to blame the Soviet Union for Afghanistan. The U.S. aggressive forces and imperialist propaganda services do not wish to be the only ones in history to carry the burden of the Vietnam syndrome. Let us, however, review past history. [passage omitted]

Was it necessary for the Soviet troops to enter Afghanistan? This question is being openly discussed in the Soviet press today, and evaluations, such as "tragic mistake" and "sin" have even been expressed. Engels' famous postulate that a nation cannot make another nation happy by force of arms if this nation is not ready to accept this happiness has been cited. Freedom and social progress are related to the domestic situation in a country and cannot be imported from abroad.

Those who adopted the decision [to intervene in Afghanistan] will be judged by history in accordance with the results of their actions. The Soviet troops entered Afghanistan with the purpose of counterbalancing the pressure of counterrevolution from the outside and in order to protect their country's southern borders, where the enemy forces deployed could have penetrated through southern Kazakhstan using their electronic means.

The entire responsibility for Afghanistan's political development as a sovereign state rests with the domestic revolutionary forces. It is not true that Soviet troops entered Afghanistan for the sake of strategic advantages—to exert pressure on Pakistan, surrounded by India on the other side, or to gain access to the oil resources of the Persian Gulf, or to settle in Afghanistan, which has a very long border with the Soviet Union, but with China as well. If this had been true, the Soviet Union possessed the necessary 600,000 soldiers to block the border with Pakistan and settle the conflict by military means. This was not the task of the Soviet Army. Stationed in the larger cities, it had to protect the population and the country's communications, while fighting the Mujahidin was the task of the Afghanistan Army. The Soviet Union's political motivations were honest. The USSR never intended to settle permanently on foreign territory. Even Reagan himself declared that the Soviets are ready "to openly renounce a beautiful trophy" and that this is an amazing fact." The West could not believe that Soviet soldiers would withdraw voluntarily while they were still in peak fighting condition.

The Soviet Union never intended to establish socialism in Afghanistan. Following World War II, Soviet troops passed through Norway and were stationed in Austria over a long period, but there was no question of socialism in those countries, because the people did not want it and were not acquainted with it. Socialism is a question of the internal balance of class forces.

The question of the essence of internationalism in the form of international assistance, the question of the balance between military, economic, political, and other manifestations of internationalism is currently being discussed in the Soviet Union. "We should not introduce law and order in another country by force of arms," wrote Soviet commentator Bovin. In the future, Soviet troops will presumably no longer be used in a similar way under similar historical situations. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union (for reasons, which are entirely different from those of Western interventions, of course) participated in the following military actions involving the participation of Soviet troops: Hungary (direct 1956), Czechoslovakia (direct 1968), Vietnam (indirect 1965 to 1975), Angola (indirect 1979 and 1984, and to the present date), Ethiopia (indirect 1977 to 1978), South Yemen (indirect 1978), Cambodia (Kampuchea) (indirect from 1979 to the present date), Afghanistan (direct from 1979 to the present date). [passage omitted]

All this will be discussed by politicians, historians, and militaries. The present crucial problems are different; they are the topical issues of today. The counterrevolutionary forces are trying to seize all the power in Afghanistan. Najibullah and his revolutionary military forces, that are surrounded in the large cities, but well-equipped, are ready to fight until the end. [passage omitted]

Soviet troops have left Afghanistan. If the "irreconcilable ones" fight to the bitter end, this will result in even more bloodshed, and the West will hardly be able to avoid the Afghanistan syndrome.

Economic Cooperation With Austria Reviewed

AU2102135889 Sofia BTA in English
1212 GMT 21 Feb 89

["Bulgaria, Austria: Mutually Advantageous Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Austria is one of the five biggest Western partners Bulgaria is carrying on cooperation with in the field of economy.

The business circles' expectations for the further promotion of cooperation are based on making wide use of joint industrial projects, intensified commercial exchange and other new forms of cooperation between Bulgarian and Austrian partners. The recent agreement on the establishment of a Bulgaro-Austrian consortium to construct a research center for developing advanced biotechnologies near Sofia has opened new prospects for cooperation in the biochemical industry. Joint ventures and other cooperation projects are already operative in the heavy and household chemical industry, chemical engineering, etc.

Metallurgy is another sphere of mutually advantageous cooperation. Under an agreement signed at the end of last year, the Austrian concern "Voest Alpine" will install continuous casting lines in the big metallurgical works in Kremikovtsi and Radomir.

Bulgaria and Austria are tourist countries with solid traditions and there are good prospects for carrying on cooperation in this field as well. It becomes obvious from the protocol for cooperation in tourism which has been signed here recently. The document is dominated by the two countries' desire to find new ways to mutually beneficial cooperation. The protocol foresees the joint construction and handling of tourist projects in Bulgaria. A number of hotels and restaurants in Sofia and on the Black Sea coast, an excellent place for holiday making, are to be built or updated in partnership with Austrian companies.

The hopes for further and stable advancement of Bulgaro-Austrian economic cooperation are connected with the economic reforms in Bulgaria which provide much more room for the Bulgarian companies to establish direct contacts with partners abroad.

9-Month Sentence for Vaclav Havel Announced

LD2102194389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Main proceedings took place at the Prague-3 Municipal District Court in the criminal case against the accused, Vaclav Havel. The prosecution alleged that through foreign media and broadcasts to Czechoslovakia by the BBC and Radio Free Europe, he repeatedly encouraged [utvrzovat] citizens not to respect the decision of the municipal district national committee in Prague-1 banning public gatherings in connection with the so-called commemorative event for Jan Palach in Wenceslas Square in Prague on 15 January 1989.

In addition, the prosecution charged him with personally attending an unauthorized gathering in Prague-1 in Wenceslas Square in the afternoon of 16 January, and with remaining unlawfully in that place despite appeals to leave that area by units of the Public Security Corps who were acting to impose order. By this he committed an act constituting the criminal offense of incitement in accordance with paragraph 164 of the Criminal Code, and the criminal offense of obstructing the legal powers of a public official in accordance with paragraph 156, Section A of the Criminal Code.

Following the proceedings, which lasted almost all day and during which seven witnesses were heard, and an amount of other evidence was submitted, the Prague-3 Municipal District Court issued a verdict in which it found the accused, Vaclav Havel, guilty of the criminal offenses of incitement in accordance with Paragraph 164 of the Criminal Code, and of the criminal offense of obstructing the execution of the legal powers of a public official in accordance with Paragraph 156, Section A of the Criminal Code.

For these criminal offenses he was sentenced to the full penalty of deprivation of liberty for 9 months.

In view of the fact that in the 10 years prior to having committed these criminal offenses the accused had been serving a sentence, he has been ordered to serve the sentence in the second corrective-educational group in accordance with paragraph 39A, Section 2B of the Criminal Code.

Jakes, Hungary's Grosz Hold News Conference

AU1702140889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 89 p 1

[Vera Posledni report: "Talking to Journalists"]

[Text] Before our Hungarian guest left Prague, Comrades Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz granted an interview to Czechoslovak and Hungarian journalists.

They began by evaluating the course of the visit. Karoly Grosz stated that their meeting took place in a very frank, businesslike atmosphere. "We discussed the issues that are currently of interest to both parties. I briefed the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary on everyday life in the MSZMP, and at the same time acquainted myself with his experience, the experience acquired by the CPCZ in the restructuring process.

"Other topics in our talks concerned the further development of mutual cooperation between the MSZMP and the CPCZ, and between the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR, both in the political and in the international sphere," Karoly Grosz went on to say. "We discussed specific issues of economic cooperation. In this context we expressed support for the consultations held by the CSSR and Hungarian deputy premiers in Budapest on 6 February 1989. Our main concern here is accomplishing tasks that we want to pursue in the future, in the form of joint enterprises and other forms of entrepreneurship. We also dealt with matters concerning tourism, appraised the nationalities policy of our two states, and devoted our attention to issues connected with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project. I believe that after our meeting, which lasted for several hours, we can return home in the awareness of work well done."

In answering a question about the prospects of developing cooperation between the two countries, Comrade M. Jakes stressed that this set of problems was one of the main topics of their discussion. It was not a mere exchange of experience, one also focused on ways of further opening the road to comprehensive cooperation.

"Economic cooperation is quite naturally the key issue, as Comrade Grosz has already told you," he said. "But we also discussed cooperation in culture and tourism. In my view, which is actually confirmed by the experience to date, good prerequisites have been established for developing collaboration, but we must first find new forms for it. In the economy the main thing is to expand our cooperation, for it is still rather low, around 11 percent; to set up joint enterprises, for which we already have specific proposals; and to pursue the possibilities of achieving trilateral cooperation, for instance with the participation of a capitalist country.

"The further development of cultural cooperation," Milos Jakes then stated, "could be promoted, for instance, by activating the cultural centers in the two countries. A few days ago just such a Czechoslovak cultural center was opened in Budapest. The standards of our cultural cooperation are good; still, in appraising it we have found considerable untapped reserves. It is now the task of the appropriate state agencies and social organizations to make more vigorous use of them. Another concern is to intensify contacts and exchanges between young people; this is most important not only from the present viewpoint but also from that of the future."

Milos Jakes confirmed the MSZMP general secretary's words about our absolute agreement on the nationalities issues, and about our doing everything to provide our nations and nationalities in each of the countries with possibilities for full self-realization. He stated that the talks also concerned issues that have international connections, such as the activation and improvement of collaboration within the framework of the CEMA, our joint course on third markets, the paths leading to the convertibility of our currencies, and the use of our national currencies. All this touches on many problems that can be termed barriers and that must be removed, so that we can make more rapid progress and achieve better results.

CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Jakes expressed the conviction that the visit has significantly contributed toward further developing comprehensive cooperation. He termed the CPCZ-MSZMP cooperation important, for the experience acquired by both parties with regard to the new things that are being born, and the problems that they have to overcome, are all extremely important for averting mistakes and unifying society to accomplish the goals that we are setting for ourselves. He stressed that the main thing is to make socialism more attractive, both at home and internationally, so that the people take an active part in building it.

Asked by Hungarian radio how the Czechoslovak partner had received his views on implementing pluralism in the form of several parties in the state, Karoly Grosz replied that Czechoslovakia cannot be surprised by such a question because it already has one [not further defined] functioning. "As has already become habitual in our relations," he went on to say, "the Czechoslovak comrades consider this to be an internal affair of the Hungarian side. However, I can say that he listened to our views with great interest and attention; they are the basis of our specific steps and of our search for the road toward a new socialist model. My impression was that the Czechoslovak side has understood us."

A Czechoslovak television reporter asked about the main tasks confronting Hungarian society in the solution of political and economic problems following the last MSZMP Central Committee session in February.

In his reply, Karoly Grosz stressed that the primary task is to consolidate the party's unity for accomplishing the tasks of the reform both in the political and the economic sphere. "No reform program can be carried out without planned management and without the party's leading role," he stated. "We must go forward, not backward. That is also why I am far more occupied by preparations for the next session of our party's Central Committee. It will be devoted to issues connected with our new constitution, which will be one of the most significant steps in the political reform in the coming period. Another main item on the agenda of the coming session will be the party's new agricultural policy. The MSZMP achieved the best results in this sphere during the past decade. Those who have visited Hungary were able to convince themselves of this. However, we have exhausted our possibilities in this sphere, and we must proceed further. This is in the best interests of our entire society."

Karoly Grosz, MSZMP Central Committee general secretary, then spoke of the state of the country's political and economic reform. He said that these two processes are interconnected and interlinked, which is why it would be most harmful for one of them to lag behind the other. At the same time, it is most difficult to harmonize them, if for no other reason than that the economy can only be modernized on the basis of laws governing the economy; and the political sphere has its own laws, too. "We find the thought of making rapid progress most attractive, for we are lagging in a certain sense—in some areas by several decades. But here we must be disciplined. Our permanent task is to maintain harmony—and this demands great care and attention from the MSZMP and the government, and great support from the public," Karoly Grosz stated.

Asked by RUDE PRAVO about mutual harmony in the implementation of the political and economic reform within the restructuring process in individual socialist countries, Comrade Karoly Grosz said: Your question is both justified and most topical—if for no other reason than that these two reform processes are interconnected and have a mutual impact. If one lags behind the other, or one runs ahead of the other, this can be very harmful. However, it is most difficult to harmonize them—one of the reasons being that the economy can be modernized solely on the basis of the laws governing it; and the same logic exists in the political sphere. Whenever these two spheres become mixed, we have a conflict. It can be very attractive to progress very rapidly. However, one has to be sufficiently disciplined, for the consequences of mistakes that occur—and they do occur despite the best intentions—are the same as if we had done nothing at all. I would therefore like to stress one thing: The maintenance of this harmony is a constant, extremely difficult task, one that demands great attention and care from our party and our government, and great support from the public.

Central Committee Assesses Grosz Visit

AU2002200289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK Report: "On the Visit by Karoly Grosz; Statement of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed a report on the progress and outcome of the friendly working visit to the CSSR on 15 February by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

It noted with satisfaction the bilateral interest in the comprehensive development of mutual cooperation, in increasing the effectiveness of and improvement in economic cooperation, in the broader use of manufacturing cooperation and further higher forms of collaboration in the development and implementation of modern technologies, in the implementation of the advances of science and technology in the process of manufacturing, and in the mutual exchange of cultural values.

It emphasized that the regular contacts between party representatives, the close collaboration between the CPCZ and MSZMP, and the exchange of experiences and information on policy between both fraternal countries at present are a significant contribution to the development of comprehensive CSSR-Hungarian cooperation, mutual knowledge and understanding, as well as a contribution to strengthening friendship between the peoples of both countries.

The Presidium praised the complete concurrence of points of view on the international political questions under debate and the resolve of both sides to contribute to the process of disarmament and the strengthening of security, trust, and cooperation in Europe and the world.

It assigned to Communists of the appropriate organs the task of working out conclusions from the discussions between the highest CPCZ and MSZMP representatives along party, state, and economic lines, in the interest of intensifying CSSR-Hungarian cooperation.

Premier Adamec Returns From USSR Visit

AU2102103489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Moscow, and CTK: "Ladislav Adamec Concluded His Official Friendly Visit to the USSR; Need To Develop Direct Relations"]

[Excerpt] Moscow/Prague—CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec concluded his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union and left Moscow by air for Prague on Saturday afternoon [18 February].

At Vnukovo Airport, which was decorated with the state flags of the two countries, Ladislav Adamec and members of his entourage were seen off by Nikolay Ryzhkov and other Soviet officials. The ambassadors of the two countries, Jindrich Rehorek and Viktor Lomakin, were present.

At Ruzyne Airport in Prague, which was decorated with the state flags of the two countries, the premier and his entourage, which consisted of Pavel Hrivnak and Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premiers, and Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, were welcomed by Matej Lucan, CSSR deputy premier; Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; and Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense. Marat Kuznetsov, counsellor-ambassador of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, was also present. [passage omitted]

Indra Chairs Party Legal Commission Session

AU1702141389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 89 p 2

["(z)"-signed report: "Legal Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee Convenes"]

[Text] Prague—The second session of the CPCZ Central Committee's Legal Commission was held in Prague on Wednesday [15 February]. The commission, chaired by its chairman, Alois Indra, discussed the draft of comprehensive measures for coordinating the activities conducted by the agencies of the security corps, the prosecutor general's office, and the courts, barristers, and arbitrators with the aim of strengthening legality.

During the discussion the participants stressed the role played by these agencies in consolidating socialist legality under the conditions of the comprehensive restructuring of our society. The commission recommended complementing the appropriate material by adding the suggestions and ideas submitted by its members and passing it on to the CPCZ Central Committee for discussion.

Honecker, Luxembourg Party Chairman Meet

LD2002151289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1303 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, met for a cordial talk today with Rene Urbany, chairman of the Luxembourg Communist Party [CPL]. The two officials discussed current international developments and briefed each other on the policies of their parties. They expressed their satisfaction that the far-reaching and responsible initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states and the work of broad forces of reason and realism had introduced an improvement to the world situation.

The elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, and the latest initiatives of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states to reduce unilaterally and independently of negotiations their armed forces and defense expenditures, are imparting a new impetus to the struggle for a world without war and mass destruction weapons. It now rests with NATO to give these advance concessions a suitable reply corresponding to the peoples' yearning for peace.

Erich Honecker and Rene Urbany emphasized that increased efforts are needed to dissuade NATO from modernizing nuclear short-range missiles, which would wreck the first steps toward disarmament. The process of disarmament now launched should be continued uncompromisingly. The aims primarily are to halve the U.S. and USSR strategic offensive weapons, while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, and a nuclear test ban. After the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting it would be of great significance if the conferences on conventional disarmament and on confidence-building were to make speedy progress.

The two sides noted the increased importance of the proposals for regional solutions in Europe as worked out by the SED and SPD. More military detente is essential to guarantee the promise of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the common European home. It also demands a strict regard for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the states, and the inviolability of their borders.

The two officials expressed their concern about the increase in nationalistic and racist ideas in the FRG and in Berlin (West). The entry of the neonazis into the West Berlin parliament is an alarm signal for all democratic forces.

Erich Honecker explained the resolutions of the seventh SED Central Committee meeting in preparation for the 12th SED Congress. The GDR is looking forward to its 40th anniversary with a successful overall record. The party, in close and trusting solidarity with all working people, is facing the new challenges in the further shaping of the advanced socialist society. It uncompromisingly continues its path of the unity of economic and social policy, which is marked by continuity and renewal of the intensification of the national economy and the priority development of key technologies. The fraternal alliance with the USSR and CPSU and the other fraternal states and parties is being consolidated.

Rene Urbany explained how the Communists of Luxembourg, following their 25th party congress, are conducting the struggle for peace and disarmament, for the political, social, and national interests of the working people. He referred to the new tasks of the party resulting from the negative consequences of the West European processes of integration for Luxembourg workers.

Erich Honecker and Rene Urbany praised the close and trusting relations between the SED and the CPL, which are developing well in every respect, and affirmed their resolve to cultivate and deepen them further.

The meeting was attended by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Gerlach, Delegation Depart for Hirohito Funeral

LD2102172189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1216 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prof Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, left for Tokyo today. He is to take part in the official funeral service of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, who died at the beginning of January, on behalf of the GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker.

Prof Gerlach is being accompanied by Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier.

Delegation Arrives in Tokyo

LD2202085689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0548 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo (ADN)—Professor Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Tokyo today at the head of a GDR delegation to attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito. The GDR delegation was welcomed at Narita International Airport by Justice Minister Masami Takatsuji on behalf of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita. Members of the delegation are Kurt Nier, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Manfred Schmidt, GDR ambassador to Japan.

The state funeral of the monarch, who died on 7 January, will take place on Friday in the Japanese capital. Mourners from more than 160 states are expected to attend.

Schabowski Receives CSSR Party Delegation

AU1602172089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, received a study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, led by Vladimir Patek, Central Committee member and Central Committee department head, for talks on Tuesday [14 February].

Guenter Schabowski informed his visitors about the SED's work in preparation for the 12th party congress. He said that it is indispensable for the further strengthening of socialism that the workers class party consistently observe its leadership role. The successful implementation of the unity of economic and social policy guarantees the stability and dynamism of the social development and a solid trusting relationship between the party and the people, he said. Working out a scientifically founded social concept and implementing it purposefully in the SED's work, as well as the good example that Communists set every day at their workplace and at their home, ensure authority and the masses' affinity for the party, Schabowski said. In preparing for the elections on 7 May and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the republic, the efficiency of socialism can be further increased, and thus new things can be created for the people's benefit, he said.

Vladimir Patek said that the CPCZ will continue to purposefully lead the processes of change politically, which will enhance the attractiveness of socialism in the CSSR. His country is heading for the 18th CPCZ Congress with optimism, he said.

In Berlin the CPCZ delegation is familiarizing itself with experiences of party work in the SED and the problems of internal party life.

Taking part in the talks were SED Central Committee members Helmut Mueller, second secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, and Heinz Mirtschin, Central Committee department head. Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador, was present.

Kessler Opens Brotherhood-in-Arms Week

LD1702200789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—In view of NATO's adherence to its strategy of deterrence, even during the further successful progress of the process of disarmament and confidence building, the watchfulness and defense capability of the socialist states and their armies must at all times be safeguarded at the requisite level. This was stated by Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR defense minister, on the occasion of the opening of the traditional week of brotherhood-in-arms at a rally today in Karl-Marx-Stadt. He gave detailed attention to the latest disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states. As history shows, German-Soviet friendship is one of the most valuable achievements and one of the indispensable fundamentals of the socialist German state, which is marking its 40th anniversary this year.

Just as in 1961, when the security measures decided upon by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact participant states were discussed at the state border with Berlin (West), supported by Soviet comrades of class and arms, today as well, jointly with them, responsibility is being borne for the military protection of peace and socialism in the heart of Europe.

Numerous meetings and functions are planned for the friendship week between the annual days of the Soviet Army and the GDR National People's Army.

SED Greets Yemeni Socialist Party Leader

AU1702170589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED Central Committee has conveyed cordial congratulations to 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, on his 50th birthday. In the greetings message, signed by Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary, tribute is paid to the party leader's political work which—the message says—is closely connected with the struggle for national independence of the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. 'Ali Salim al-Bid's personal commitment to the PDRY's further development is highly acknowledged, as is his commitment to the country's active support for regional and international security, and his contribution to the development of trusting relations of cooperation between the parties, states, and peoples of the PDRY and the GDR, in the interest of peace and social progress.

Selection of Election Candidates Unchanged

AU1502192789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 89 p 2

[Editorial by "U St": "Tested in the Working Collective"]

[Excerpt] Who are the candidates whose names will be on the ticket of the 7 May local elections? How do they get there? "You yourselves must decide on their nomination," the election appeal of the National Council of the GDR National Front says. There will be many opportunities to do so before the first Sunday in May. Thus, working collectives are currently examining the more than 260,000 candidates suggested for nomination by those who hold the relevant mandate—the parties and the mass organizations. This is a form of selecting future people's representatives that you will find nowhere in bourgeois democracies.

This decisive codetermination of the working collectives with which the selection of candidates is initiated, giving it a broad democratic basis from the start, was carried out for the first time in the 1974 local elections at the suggestion of the SED; in 1976, it was anchored in paragraph 17 of the election law adopted by the People's Chamber. It has proved its value since then. [passage omitted]

Daily Comments on Concept of Interference

AU1002105189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Feb 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "What Does Interference Mean?"]

[Text] What does interference really mean, according to the Helsinki Final Act? Kai Schuler from Erfurt wants to know and, at the same time, asks in this context whether our branding of the shortcomings and crimes of imperialism can be regarded as interference.

No, this is not interference. According to international law, interference means intervention in another state's domestic or foreign affairs, for which it is exclusively responsible. Not only armed and violent, but also subversive, political, ideological, propagandist, and financial means and methods are regarded as interference. All this is meant by the CSCE states' commitment in the Helsinki Final Act to mutually refrain from any direct and indirect, individual or collective interference in domestic or foreign affairs that lie within the national authority of another state.

Thus, it is clear: Interference is, for example, the attempts by electronic FRG media to instruct GDR citizens how to behave as regards the internal affairs of their state. Interference ranges from calls to change the way in which the state border is secured, for which the GDR is exclusively responsible, to the well-known things staged by Western correspondents with the exclusive aim of slandering the GDR—for example, on 1 May 1988, when a man was chained in front of a church for a dozen television cameras.

No interference means the objective presentation of facts and conditions, including their evaluation. Peaceful coexistence between the states does not mean ideological coexistence. Thus, it is not interference when we not only propagate the advantages of socialism in the competition between systems, but also show by the conditions in capitalism how right it was to abolish the order of exploitation in our country. Put in concrete terms: When we report on the many millions of unemployed, homeless people, drug deaths, young people without apprenticeships, and victims of a vocational ban, when we pillory the acquittal of Thaelmann's murderer, the condemnation of those who oppose missiles, and the fact that neonazis take seats in parliaments. In short: When we state that a system that tramples on human rights in such a way is inhuman.

However, with our reporting we are not trying to change the conditions in capitalist countries from the outside. We know: Social changes in a country can only be made by the people who live there. Putting it in a straightforward way, we do not try to export revolution, just as we do not permit the counterrevolution to be imported into our country.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-14 Feb

AU1702190489

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 10 to 16 February reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, addressed cadres of the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute in Berlin on 10 February. (11-12 Feb, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception at the Iranian Embassy in Berlin on 13 February. (14 Feb, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, attended a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society in Berlin on 9 February. (10 Feb, p 2)

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a dinner hosted by Pak Yong-chan, DPRK ambassador to the GDR, in Berlin on 14 February. (16 Feb, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Lenin Komsomol, in Berlin on 9 February. (10 Feb, p 8)

Guenter Schabowski received a study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, led by Vladimir Patek, Central Committee member and Central Committee department head, in Berlin on 14 February. (15 Feb, p 2)

Further Reportage on Central Committee Session

1st Working Day Concludes

LD2102100489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The MSZMP Central Committee session that opened this morning has concluded its first working day. Here is a detailed report from our colleagues:

[Unidentified first correspondent] The MSZMP Central Committee has already debated the conception of the constitution, and the body has become acquainted with the theses of the renewal of agrarian policy. This debate will continue tomorrow, and personnel questions will also be discussed tomorrow. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified second correspondent] A stand cannot now be expected from the MSZMP Central Committee on questions of detail. Today saw the general debate on the conception. This was attentively followed by Andras Kerekes:

[Begin Kerekes recording] The May national party conference considered only an amendment to the constitution to be necessary, but now a new constitution—in legal jargon, its regulatory conception—is what has been put before the Central Committee members, and not one of those who spoke in the debate questioned the necessity of the constitutionializing process. This in itself demonstrates the extent to which political processes have speeded up. True, this was practically the only (?matter) on which all 15 speakers agreed. There was at times a very passionate debate on questions of details, if not in tone, then definitely in content. The debate continues, for the Central Committee considers it necessary that the party membership, together with the other political forces of society, should in a wide-ranging manner debate the basic principles of our constitution, which is being prepared. This is all the more desirable because earlier, for example, in the preparation of the Law on Association, it was precisely the opinion of the party membership and the party organs that was not determinative, said some of the speakers.

It would be impossible to recount the various opinions individually if for nothing else than limited time. Rather, here are some characteristic comments [not attributed to individual speakers]:

The new constitution should encompass the perspective of socialist development, in a legal framework, and at the same time should provide a guarantee against efforts and tendencies for recapitalization. It is extremely important that a modern state structure be able to be created through the statute.

As for the party dealing with the social, political, and economic order, there were several observations. They agreed more or less that the legal regulation must be developed in a way so that the political aims are clearly apparent from it.

What is to become of socialism? How is this word to appear in the constitution when we do not have an up-to-date picture of socialism? Determining the concept is also extremely difficult. There were those who not only posed the question but who also answered it. Its promise and main contours can be formulated without risk, for we know its basic values and a good many of its lasting elements—democracy, collective perception, equality, pluralism.

Two people proposed that the new statute declare the freedom of alliance [szoevetkezes]. Others consider the constitutional regulation of this to be unnecessary.

Several speakers emphasized that a strong parliament is needed, but opinion was divided on whether the legislature should be unicameral or bicameral. Both types could count on support in an imaginary vote, but as has already been mentioned, this time around the Central Committee committed itself to the whole idea of the regulatory conception, and not to one of its elements in particular.

There were also two opinions present concerning the judiciary. There were those who considered it necessary that it be the Justice Ministry that supervises the work of the public prosecutor's office, and there were those who considered this to be an infringement of the independence of the judiciary.

It was not only on this question that—to quote Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti's closing speech—interests were also present alongside the arguments. However, the observation by one of the speakers that "the Constitution is always the product of political relations, and it is not the Constitution that creates political relations," is true for the whole of the work of creating the constitution.

There is general agreement on the question that a presidential system must be introduced in our homeland. However, opinions were divided as to whether the president of the Republic should just have a sort of protocol role, or whether—according to the jargon—we should decide in favor of a presidential system—that is, whether it should be a strong presidential power which guarantees the equally desirable political balance in the coming years.

Those who touched on it spoke with agreement about the necessity for the constitutional court and the state audit office. Their role, however, is envisioned differently by various people, as are the state symbols, and the role, and even the right of existence of an ombudsman amid our circumstances.

The whole debate can be summarized with an observation from Gyorgy Fejti's closing speech: This was a very multicolored and useful exchange of opinions. It can be called the frontier of a stage, but this does not represent an end point. However, it can signify, rather, what is in effect a start in the debate that we must conduct as actively as possible, so that we will be able to feel that our new constitution is really our creation.

The working committee created by the MSZMP Central Committee, whose mandate was now extended through a resolution up until the completion of the constitutionalization process, will at all events consider item by item the observations heard. This declaration is probably also valid not only for today's debate. [end recording]

[First correspondent] Just like the debate on the constitutional concept, the agricultural policy theses as well are to be considered the first reading, for Central Committee Secretary Pal Ivanyi said that opinions will be expressed on the proposals also at professional, scientific, and interest-representational forums, and it is probable that in the 1st half of this year the Central Committee will once again come face to face with the final draft of the stand.

[Second correspondent] We also heard that the transformation of agricultural policy is a partial element of an economic political turnabout. Pal Ivanyi had the following to say concerning the latter:

[Begin Ivanyi recording] Our objective is to lay the foundation for such an economic-political turnabout. I think, and according to my experience this meets with the expectations of society, that we have to prepare an economic policy that opens a new path of growth, that asserts the demand of effectiveness above all, but which at the same time also keeps a strict watch over the external economic balance. In the meantime we have to devote particular attention to the possibility of an anti-inflation policy, one that starts out from its roots and which does not rely on superficial treatment, being realized, as well as of an ever-higher-level employment policy.

Despite the difficult circumstances, in the past year we made a significant step in this direction. As long as the enlivening of growth is not accompanied by an improvement in effectiveness and in the stabilization of the external balance, then we will have to be circumspect, because we must avoid a repetition of the 1985-87 situation. [end recording]

[First correspondent] It is not only in our economic, but also in our social interest, that even in our changing world we should be able to guarantee for a hitherto successful branch the prospects for the security of livelihood for those who work there, and a continued good food supply for all of us. That is how the Central Committee secretary justified the reexamination of the agricultural policy.

[Second correspondent] The cultural committee may determine the concept, the political system of objectives. The elaboration of the detailed national agricultural program will be the task of the government, and it will be expedient to introduce this to the National Assembly as well.

[First correspondent] But let us take one by one the factors that not only justify but also urge the renewal of agricultural policy. The inadequate interestedness and the likewise inadequate market adaptability, the deteriorating profitability, and the worn-out stock of tools, already in the short term necessitate administrative measures as well, with which the branch's capacity to function can be maintained.

[Second correspondent] There has to be adaptation to the market, and this adaptation cannot be postponed. Although the characteristics of agriculture are taken into consideration throughout the world, it must also be seen that neither agriculture nor the peasantry, not even a single branch or stratum, can be exempted from the depressing economic consequences of the country's situation.

[First correspondent] The now proposed agricultural policy, therefore, at one and the same time offers a pursuable program. It also means very great effort. As a consequence of the supply market, we have to convert to the qualitative outlook instead of the quantitative outlook. On the domestic market, the effect of the difference in incomes will be felt, and cheap and highly processed products alike will be sought.

[Second correspondent] At present, one-third of foodstuffs is exported. The larger portion of this is not paid for in rubles; and this export will also be needed in the future. Even in the future we cannot be exempted from the effects of the protectionist agricultural policy; therefore, only special, high-quality products can offer greater chances on the market.

[First correspondent] We cannot expect growth on the CEMA countries' market within a short space of time. In spite of this is appears that first and foremost the Soviet Union will continue to offer an outlet for certain of our foodstuffs which improve basic supply and choice. It is an essential change. Therefore, we will have to convert to the practice of producing for the market from the practice of marketing surpluses.

[Second correspondent] As for what this market production and structural change means, Pal Ivanyi discussed this as well:

[First correspondent] Compulsory purchasing, which earlier served the security of producers, today is not a path that we can take. The Central Committee secretary said the following on this:

[Begin Ivanyi recording] Therefore, the earlier interpretation of producer security cannot be maintained. To separate the producers, to make them independent of the market, to make them significantly independent of the market, could be put into effect only with losses to the national economy. Also, in the last resort this would not serve the interests of those active in the food economy, either. Producers' security can best be guaranteed by their even closer adaptation to the market. Of course this will not be identical to the absolute security of former years, for the characteristic of an essentially saturated and protectionist market is, precisely, adaptability.

The adaptation to the changing demands of the agricultural market requires the consistent development of the conditions and tools that serve it. Without striving for completion, I would like to draw attention to the following: There is also in the food economy a need for genuine market sensitivity, which can be attained by increasing the role of market prices and, for the handling of the market's excesses, by making operative the system of market intervention. Incomes should depend for the decisive part on how products are judged by the market, and not on budget support. Market adaptation presupposes the gradual modernization of the food economy, the development of well-functioning wholesale markets, merchandise exchanges, and the extension of producers' commercial activity.

Successful market work requires wide-ranging vertical cooperation, in contrast to the current practice that is rather characterized by the realization of income at one another's expense or by the burdening of the budget. [end recording]

[First correspondent] Agriculture consists of many sectors—that is, the state farms, the producers' cooperatives, the specialized cooperatives working side by side, and the significance of household farming and small-scale production growing. What will the future bring? Pal Ivanyi here explains this:

[Begin Ivanyi recording] As for the branches that can be easily mechanized, large-scale production will in all probability remain characteristic. Therefore, the large agricultural concerns invariably remain the determinant factors of the future of agriculture. At the same time, in the branches requiring great care and manual work, already today, real efficiency advantages are realized in small-scale production. Thus, together with the equality of opportunity, a greater role will be played by the household and small-scale production—which, in the majority of cases, rely on the integration of large concerns—and by private enterprises of a main occupational nature.

However, the perspective of small-scale production and the private farms also requires the lifting of today's restrictions on the purchase of land property and land usage which do not comply with the requirements of the market economy model. These obstruct the development of competition. [end recording]

[First correspondent] The present organizational forms of the large agricultural concerns are characterized rather by rigidity and inflexibility than by genuine autonomy. How should the hitherto possibility and practice change?

[Begin Ivanyi recording] The present frameworks of large-scale concerns have to be developed further, for they should be more suitable for the flexible adjustment to the market and for the driving force of human initiative and enterprise. This requirement is satisfied by the forms and frameworks of a large concern of a certain type that become a center for operating venture-type organizations that manage themselves independently.

Where there is a need and possibility for this, strictly on a voluntary basis, the large agricultural concerns should be able to flexibly transform into a organizational form which better corresponds to their own potentials and which better serves the acclimatization to the market, by which the possibility of transforming the producers' cooperatives into various associations or the reverse of this is also meant.

The genuine operation of the market also requires that the large concerns, as the participants in the market, should have appropriate independence and autonomy. To achieve this, the fastidious legal and financial regulations and the formal and informal interference in management must be reduced—that is, the rights of the broadest possible scope for decisionmaking are necessary. This is all indispensable for enterprises, and naturally with the acknowledgement of the fact that the person who make the decisions should accept the consequences and bear the favorable or unfavorable effects of this.

Together with the further development of the ownership relations entirely justified in the national economy, the renewal of the agricultural policy also raises the modernization of the cooperative policy. In the framework of the modernization of the cooperative law, it must be made possible for the members of a self-governing scope of authority to be able to exercise specific property rights over a certain part of the property growth. This, together with the prevalence of the interests of the members as real owners and their risk-taking, should facilitate the development of the collective farms. [end recording]

[First correspondent] In connection with the modernization of the representation of interests, it seems justified to establish an agrarian chamber which could evolve strictly on a voluntary basis. Besides this, however, the representation of the characteristics of the agricultural cooperatives and the protection of the interests of the peasants, in a renewing form, is necessary in the future, too.

[Second correspondent] An earlier version of the agrarian-political concept was sent to a few alternative organizations to ask their opinion of it. In these opinions a very sharp criticism of the past 40 years was a shared element, and in many cases, it was the undervaluation of the results. Some people see the future in farmer-type units and demand new land distribution.

[First correspondent] They do not consider that the destabilization of the large concerns could also ruin the 1.4 million small cooperatives, not to speak of the fact that the fate of the agrarian economy is linked with the fate of Hungarian villages and provinces. The large concerns stand on several feet, and with processing and other industrial activity they increase the population-retaining role of villages.

[Second correspondent] Thus, there is no need for new land distribution and on the basis of this for farmer-type units replacing the agricultural cooperatives, said Pal Ivanyi. But there is a need for an increase in the role of family ventures and private enterprises on the basis of actual efficiency advantages. The condition of this is a regulation that is neutral concerning sectors and organizations.

[First correspondent] The thesis draft, in its entirety, provides a basis for a wide-ranging social debate and for the outlining of the agrarian-political concept of the party. Here, in Central Committee Headquarters, the debate will continue tomorrow on this.

Further on Session Proceedings

LD2102112389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At 0900 the MSZMP Central Committee began its session under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, outlined the submission pertaining to the new constitution. As he said, the constitution's concept of regulation has been prepared; however, the elaboration of detailed issues still remains. In the further course of work, it will be necessary to return separately to a series of issues—for example, to the chapter on the presidential system, on the constitutional court, and on the social, economic, and political system.

[Begin Fejti recording] Is it possible to create a constitution in the current, rather changeable domestic political situation, which is fraught with contradictions? Is there not a threat of the danger that we might lay down, amid constitutional frameworks, the current domestic political conditions that perhaps appear somewhat chaotic, thereby impeding the further unfolding of political reforms? Is it possible, at all, at present, to move toward a stable constitution, and thus, toward a constitution that is to be valid for a long period, and to set such a target for ourselves?

The current situation is certainly not ideal for creating a constitution. However, I nevertheless think that these dangers, these snares, to which I have referred, can be avoided.

What should the relationship of the constitution be to Hungarian and international, and within this, mainly to European constitutional development? I have to note that in a certain sense the 1949 Constitution amounted to a break with the traditions of the 1,000-year Hungarian statehood, mainly of Hungarian constitutional-law development, and also with a series of basic principles and theses of bourgeois constitutional law, which, since then, have proved enduring.

Our proposal is that this discontinuity ought to be eliminated. At the same time, I would also like to say that we must take steps against the danger of newly arising discontinuity. At present, there are views in circulation that would like to break with the post-1948-49 period, and which are thinking of urging that this be discarded. This obviously would be a complete absurdity [teljes mertekben abszurditas], both politically and historically. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The constitution should define Hungary as a democratic and socialist state, Gyorgy Fejti continued. The new constitution will be adapted by the National Assembly, but its final text must be confirmed by a referendum. Many people are debating who has competence over creating a constitution. The answer, unequivocally, is the National Assembly, and it must separate itself from the endeavors that question the legitimacy of parliament and the government organs. The Central Committee secretary then added a supplement to the concrete chapters of the constitution.

As for the form of the state, he emphasized that there is no better definition than the People's Republic, because it is not enough to set down that it is a republic, especially not when we place great emphasis on the principle of people's sovereignty. As for the political system, and on the constitutional depiction of parties, he stated the following:

[Begin Fejti recording] It is not the constitution that must define the multiparty system; at the same time, the constitution must serve as a framework for the spontaneous development pointing in the direction of a multiparty system. We have submitted such a draft text.

What is an important thesis—and this is a divergence with the 1949 Constitution—is that we do not see a need and the sense for the MSZMP's leading role to be constitutionally formulated. This, naturally, does not mean that the MSZMP might give up the political endeavor and intention, as was mentioned at the most recent Central Committee session, of hoping to become a determining factor of social processes. However, it wishes to ensure this with its program, with its political work, and with persuasion, thus, by winning over society, and not with legal formulas.

However, it is expedient, precisely in the defense of society, to lay down that only social organizations, including parties, whose objectives, programs, and activities are in harmony with the values and endeavors noted in the constitution, can operate in our country. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Gyorgy Fejti underlined that it is necessary to define in detail in the constitution the statuses of the state president, the head of government, and ministers, in the interest of resolute, consistent, and predictable government. [passage omitted]

Gyorgy Fejti's closing speech was heard after the debate. Here are some thoughts from it:

[Begin Fejti recording] I ask the Central Committee to support the idea that this concept should serve as the basis for a relatively widespread debate, and that within this, a very intensive party debate should also begin. I consider it to be an issue of principle that we should use the creation of a constitution as a means for creating a consensus; we should not yield to monopolizing endeavors. I might add: Neither should we, as an important political force, work for this; neither should we work for exclusiveness. Thus, we should work for the greatest possible openness, for the most consultation possible, because the Constitution has stable values if it has managed to achieve a consensus on the most important issues, essentially before it is adopted. Thus, it is not possible to decide the questions with a coup, with quick action. Instead, they must ripen and be talked through.

At the same time, it is obvious that regardless of our intentions, various political groups, departing from timely political interests, can use this as an arena of confrontation. Indeed, they can use it as the tool, the arena of the daily power battle. For this reason, we must conduct this debate with good nerves and with patience. It is necessary to shape the institutional frameworks and channels so that the opinions of the various organizations, movements, associations, and citizens end up in the most complete form on the desk of those who carry out the codification work. [end recording]

[Announcer] After this, Central Committee Secretary Pal Ivanyi outlined the party's agricultural policy theses. In his introduction he evaluated the present state of the Hungarian economy. He highlighted the fact that the objective is an economic political turnaround that will open a new path of growth, and above all assert the demands of effectiveness and keep a strict watch over foreign economic balance.

[Correspondent] One part of the program is the anti-inflation policy, and the increasing of employment prospects and job opportunities. Agricultural reform is an important stage of this economic policy. We quote from Pal Ivanyi's speech:

[Begin Ivanyi recording] Several demands appear simultaneously, vis-a-vis agricultural policy. It has to fit into the general framework of social and economic policy. At the same time, it also has to adapt to the particulars of agriculture. It has to create, for the peasantry, the security of livelihood, but in such a way that, by developing activity, it should create for itself the material bases for that. At this point the effect of agricultural policy widens out and takes on societal dimensions, because the entire society benefits from a good and secure food supply.

In the assertion of the agricultural policy, apart from the basic principles being retained, from time to time various other viewpoints have also come to the fore. We have been able to shape these in such a way that, even if we committed errors, we nevertheless avoided the crudest ideological and practical mistakes of the Stalinist agricultural policy, which in the beginning was considered to be a model. Albeit with temporary detours in several issues, we adapted correctly, even according to our present-day knowledge, not only to domestic particulars but also to economic rationality. Here we can refer to, for example, the support for household farming, the expansion of the sphere of activity, or the development of interest-representations that carried out substantive work.

At the same time, the concept proved to be a mistake, and it rested on an incorrect ideological basis, which for a long time considered cooperative property to rank lower than state property; which in the 1970's, by the forced amalgamation of the cooperatives, strove to increase the size of farms; and which at times was turned against the development of household production and the auxiliary activity of the large agricultural plants. It was a mistake that the cooperatives' associative nature became fainter, and that state interference obtained a larger scope than it should have.

On the other hand, our agricultural policy is characterized by our results, rather than our mistakes. Our food economy, even on the international scale, achieved results worthy of recognition. These made it possible for us, in the middle of the sixties, to change from a substantial importing country to once again become a significant exporter, while here at home we ensured a balanced food supply, with the decisive part coming from domestic production. On an identical scale with this was the change represented by the social, material, and spiritual advance of the peasantry, the essential change in the profile of the village, which we with justification consider to be of historical significance.

First of all, I would highlight the transition from the quantitative outlook to quality, which, alongside the medium-standard products, means the increased satisfaction of the high-quality market demands, and the retuning that this necessitates. Because a supply position has evolved on both the domestic and the foreign markets alike, and because no significant modification can be expected in this in the future, either, for this reason the quantitative increase is determined by meeting the qualitative demands of the market.

There is no change in that the basic task of the food economy continues to be the satisfaction of the domestic market. Apart from the changes that can be expected on the domestic market, we will have to reassess the extent of our food exports, its market possibilities, and in the wake of this, its composition. Our export positions, however, have changed significantly in the past decade. From the mid-seventies onward on the world market, supply has in essence outstripped solvent demand. New and hitherto importing countries have appeared on the market with their own food surpluses, which gave rise to price reductions, supports competition, and led to a protectionist agricultural policy. This is given particular emphasis by the Western European market, which is to become unified in 1990 and which deserves attention because Western Europe is one of the largest traditional markets for our food products.

Our other big market—the market of the CEMA countries—is presently characterized by consumer demand which outstrips supply, and by an inadequate selection. In these countries, however, due to their economic development problems, which are similar to ours—the need to acquire foreign currency, the striving for balanced trade, and the lack of market conditions—we cannot count on the expansion of the foodstuffs market in the short term. In spite of this, it appears that first and foremost the Soviet Union will continue to offer an important outlet possibility for certain of our foodstuffs which improve basic supply and selection.

In the second sphere of issues I would mention the necessity for the new, more modern, and more market-like interpretation of production security. The essence of the future change is that, alongside the legal and economic regulation, which asserts the equality of opportunity as a guiding principle, small-scale production, the weight of private farming, and private farms can also expand considerably, if this proves effective in economic competition.

However, it also belongs to the prospects of small-scale production and private farms that there should be the present-day restraints of acquiring land ownership and land use, which do not accord with the demands of the market economic model and which obstruct competition. The present big-plant frameworks have to be further developed so that they can become more suited for flexible adaptation to the market, and for the unfolding of the willingness for human initiative and enterprise. The genuine operation of the market also requires that the big plants, as performers in the market, should have appropriate independence and autonomy. To achieve this, bothersome legal and financial regulations, formal and informal interference in management, will have to be reduced—that is, the broadest possible rights of decisionmaking, which are indispensable for enterprise, are needed, together, naturally, with the requirement that the decisionmakers should also bear the consequences of this, both its favorable and unfavorable effects. [end recording]

[Announcer] Dear viewers, that concludes the summary of the working day of the MSZMP Central Committee today.

Draft Constitution Debate Noted

LD2102011689 Budapest MTI in English 2032 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—On Monday in Budapest, the first work day of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee session, in the debate over the speech by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, on the conception of the new constitution, the demand of the members was outlined strikingly—also mediating the position of the basic organizations—for the party membership to participate in all possible forums in the debate over the constitution.

All contributors accepted the now submitted conception as the basis of further debate, and of the draft constitution. The conception will be submitted to the National Assembly in a few days.

The new constitution should formulate the perspective of the socialist development of society—stressed, among others, Pal Vastagh. Several contributors, including Zsuzsa Hollan, were of the opinion: The notion of socialism should be clarified, the HSWP should formulate the goals of building socialism in an 'up to date' manner.

In connection with the chapters of the constitution dealing with the foreign policy fundamental principles of Hungary, Pal Vastagh noted: This chapter should extend to the relation of Hungary and the Hungarian minorities living in the neighbouring countries, underlining that they form a bridge between the peoples. In his view, the basic law should also decree on who, and under what circumstances can disposition on the state border, the state area. [sentence as received] Setting down the frontiers of the country in the constitution would be reassuring for all the world also in the respect that it would prove: We have no territorial demands—said Matyas Szuros, setting forth the experiences of the debate on the conception of the constitution held with the party member MP's of the National Assembly.

Kimmel on Kadar's Health

LD2102012089 Budapest MTI in English 2126 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—'It was of outstanding importance that Janos Kadar chaired the session of the Central Committee', said Emil Kimmel, deputy spokesman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, in an interview with MTI following the first work day of the Central Committee session. 'The president of the party spoke about his health, referring to the fact that he is beginning work under medical supervision, with continuously increasing loads, and it is natural for him that the decisions of all Central Committee sessions held while he was ill also refer to him. With this Mr Kadar cut short, with a method characteristic of him, all rumours and speculations that began in the past days about him. Mr Kadar said his health was improving and he needs to work.'

In the following, Mr Kimmel discussed the first point on the agenda of the session, and stressed: A diverse, far-reaching and very useful debate followed the speech of Mr Fejti, and several contributors noted: The debate over the constitution is only in the initial stage at present, however, the current Central Committee session is a major step in this. As a perfectly uniform position could not be created here as yet, therefore the speakers held it important for the members of the party to also discuss the draft, and to actively participate in the polemics to be carried out in all society with the representation of the jointly matured positions of these debates.

Unity was tangible in the way that the socialist character was formulated. It was a determining momentum that the word socialism should not be carried through the basic law in a manner of a prayer-wheel, but that the preambulum should set down the need to formulate the socialist perspective of historical development. Apart from this, the whole of the constitution should also express the demand for a socialist order. The past, the present and the future, from rendering perceptible the 1,000-year-old statehood, continuing by raising the current problems, up to outlining the socialist perspective were determining elements of the debate.

The demand for a progressive state organization was outlined in the almost six-hour debate. Several contributors proposed that the constitution should ward off re-capitalization. Consideration to set up a two-chamber parliament received more powerful emphasis than the submitted material, and that the entire constitution framing process should be carried out in full publicity.

Mr Kimmel also spoke about the programme for the Tuesday session of the Central Committee. As the last point on the agenda, the Central Committee will be informed on personnel issues: It will acknowledge affairs decided on at other forums earlier, and which have received publicity. Officials will give more detailed information about this, too, at the international press conference that will follow the session, the deputy spokesman said in conclusion.

Body Approves Resignations

LD2202111289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee session was still under way tonight when deputy party spokesman Emil Kimmel told the press that the Central Committee had decided on some personnel issues. The resignations of Imre Klenovics and Pal Losonczi from the Central Committee were accepted. An announcement by Istvan Stadinger that he would ask parliament to relieve him of the post of speaker of the National Assembly was taken note of.

MSZMP 'Draft Position' on Political Reforms

AU1802164889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Feb 89 p 3

["Draft Position of the MSZMP Central Committee on Several Topical Issues of Reforming Our Political System"]

[Text] 1. The MSZMP has established the goal of implementing a task of historical importance: the creation of a new Hungarian practice of democratic socialism. The MSZMP conference of May 1988 opened up the way to the comprehensive and consistent implementation of economic and political reforms. A thorough modification of our political system is needed because, despite our considerable results and the historical progress made in modernizing our country, a gradual economic, political, and moral crisis has emerged in Hungary over the past 15 years. One of the reasons for this can be found in our failure to adjust to the new situation that has emerged in the wake of the sudden international economic transformation. This has strongly revealed the shortcomings of the present social and political system of socialism.

The applied model, which contributed to considerable processes of modernization, has exhausted its resources. The failure to adjust to the new conditions ended the 2 decades of considerable improvement in living conditions and led to regression and subsequent social tensions, a lack of confidence in the leadership, and a loss of opportunities. Other socialist countries are also searching for a way to restructure.

Our own historical experiences show that partial reform efforts—if they are limited only to the economic mechanism—do not lead to permanent results. Change has become inevitable, and this simultaneously requires the renewal of our economy, society, politics, and our intellectual-morale conditions.

2. The May 1988 MSZMP conference created new conditions and formulated the need for and the direction of the change. In the period since then, there has been much publicity, and the democratization and pluralism of our political institutions have begun. These processes emerged very rapidly and created new general conditions, but they are not free of contradictions, either. However, this period of time was not long enough, and the measures taken so far have been inadequate for the reorganization of real economic and social processes and institutions. The new strategy of economic reform is currently being worked out, and economic stabilization, structural change, and laying the foundations for development are yet to be carried out. All these tasks require more time.

Concepts aimed at easing tensions are derived mainly from the MSZMP, but, in the stream of various processes, these concepts occasionally give the impression of subsequent adjustments. The MSZMP considers it necessary to come up with new initiatives. In this, the MSZMP considers the economy to be the most important area. The MSZMP proposes that the government accelerate the formulation of the economic strategy by mobilizing the intellectual capacity of our country. This strategy should be based on an economic system that implements the economic rules and the international economic requirements, an open, efficient, and mixed economic system that maintains the decisive role of community and state ownership in major branches of activity.

The past 2 decades show us that the reorganization of our political institution is a condition for economic reform and for adjusting to the structural and qualitative requirements of the turn of the century. In this case, the economic and political elements of the reform will strengthen each other.

3. Despite all previous efforts, the manner in which the socialist society has functioned so far has been unable to create institutions of democracy in Hungary which can express and represent a diversity of interests. The conditions of a one-party system did not make it possible for the necessary alternative decisions to emerge and be compared, nor did it make possible the emergence of broad social publicity and control. All this has caused large masses of people to turn away from politics, and it has led to a lack of confidence in our existing institutions.

The party conference formulated the need to exercise power in a democratic way and to create political pluralism. The party conference stipulated that this should be achieved by means of a thorough reorganization of our political institutions, which "will create conditions for the systematic expression of various interests, their coordination, and their shaping into a political will." The deliberate development processes coming to the fore in the wake of this decision, and the various organizations emerging in society, show that the conditions for changing the circumstances of a one-party system are emerging.

The Central Committee proposes that a democratic way of exercising power should be supervised by society and should function under a multiparty system, by means of direct and representational democracy. The Central Committee proposes the creation of conditions and constitutional guarantees for this.

4. A balanced transition to a multiparty system can take place only as a result of organic social processes. It is impossible to plan these processes exactly, but the cooperation of political movements and factors that participate in these processes will influence their development. In the view of the Central Committee, our society today is not prepared for a quick and spontaneous "bursting" of a political structure based on a multiparty system.

The destabilization of these processes, their becoming uncontrollable, and the emergence of anarchy could lead to serious social danger. Neither the nation nor any political force that feels responsible for the fate of the country is interested in such a development. We need a gradual transition, predictable political processes, and an easing of distrust. The forced acceleration of events, or an artificial hindering of these events, can both cause damage.

The political movements that have emerged in society should display responsibility and self-control, as required by the situation. These movements can contribute to solving the tasks facing the country if, in addition to critical observations, they are also able to come up with realistic programs. The nation is interested in competition between various political factors in working out realistic alternatives to promote development.

5. The MSZMP declares that it is ready to conduct bi- and multilateral negotiations with every legally operating organization on new ways of exercising power. The conditions for cooperation are the following: observing the Constitution and the law, accepting the socialist way of social development, and respecting our international alliance responsibilities along with striving to simultaneously eliminate the two military blocs.

The Central Committee commissioned a working group to prepare the talks. The MSZMP proposes discussing the substantial, organizational, and statute issues of cooperation at the preparatory talks. As for the subject matter of genuine talks, it proposes the coordination of opinions on the preparation and content of the new constitution, the discussion of issues connected with the formulation of the election system and with cooperation in elections, and the coordination of views on economic stability and the creation of social security. The talks can lead to the creation of a permanent forum of consultations. All this can create the conditions for laying the foundations of a national consensus and of the participation of various political factors as coalition partners in exercising power.

At the same time, there can also be movements and parties in opposition, in a constitutional framework. The MSZMP will also strive for a dialogue with these parties, will argue with them, and, if necessary, will conduct a political struggle.

6. During the transition to a multiparty system, the MSZMP will openly state that it wants to play a decisive role in our society. Its political power, its representation of a democratic socialist development, its social basis, and its historical experience all provide a basis for this. The MSZMP wants to guarantee its decisive role by political means, primarily through its program, persuasion, and the individual activity and attitude of its members.

In order to lead the social transformation, the party should primarily renew itself. This is possible only through preparations for political competition. For this, we should make our long-term strategic goals more clear, and we should work out a short-term political and election program. In debates on this program, we have to develop and strengthen the party's political center and the action unity of its organizations. We should further develop democracy in the party's functioning and its decisionmaking process.

The party wants to play a constructive role in the large-scale changes and in the implementation of the changes by being open to the efforts emerging in the society, and to be aware of its social and historical responsibility.

7. The new constitution and the election law will play a decisive role in the comprehensive reorganization of our political institutions. In this connection, the Central Committee will formulate its position in the near future and will publish it and submit it to a party debate.

The Central Committee is certain that its initiatives aimed at the steady development of political pluralism serve the interests of the entire society, the opportunities of development, and our national goals. The MSZMP also has considerable international responsibility for this. Our party calls upon its members and all the forces in the country ready for action to participate in the renewal of our society with responsible debates, actions, and social cooperation.

The MSZMP Central Committee calls upon the party members and organizations to debate the draft position adopted at the meeting of 10-11 February 1989 and published here.

Program Examines 'Analysis' of 1956, Reform

LD1602193289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 15 Feb 89

[From the "Review" program, with unidentified presenter]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] You are listening to a special edition of "Review," for the topic of our program today is itself a special edition. The special edition of the periodical TARSADALMI SZEMLE carries in its entirety the study presented to the MSZMP Central Committee session last weekend, and which is to be submitted for wide-scale social debate. After last May's party conference, a 15-member committee headed by Imre Pozsgay was authorized to prepare an analysis for a more thorough revelation of the causes of the economic, social, and political problems that gravely accumulated in the eighties, of a comprehensive crisis, and to formulate a new program statement. TARSADALMI SZEMLE carries the standpoint of one of the four subcommittees, noting that a much more extensive version, one that encompasses more details, is being elaborated. In the preparation of the study, which outlines comprehensively the historic path of the past decades, the work committee, whose leader was Ivan T. Berend, apart from its members Gyula Horn, Maria Ormos, and Ferenc Toki, also involved outside experts Sandor Balogh, Jozsef Bajer, Gyorgy Foldes, and Tibor Hajdu.

Here is a quote from Ivan T. Berend's preface: This work of research into domestic and foreign archives can obviously only be completed in several years. What we can undertake now—on the basis of the existing historical research, of the documents at our disposal, and a survey of the hitherto not researched chief archival sources—is to attempt to make and outline an evaluation of the processes of the era.

What led to the present situation in Hungary? How could those processes evolve which, along the path taken, led into a cul-de-sac, and only by the radical alterations of which can there be any chance for resurgence? What ideas, intentions, and circumstances determined the events, and why did they prove to be at times successful, and in the end, for the most part, mistaken? What did we gain on the swings, and what did we lose on the roundabouts, until eventually such a huge deficit resulted? What could have been, and often could be, foreseen in the given present, when the given situation was being evaluated? And what is it that can only today be unequivocally clear?

The validity of the doctrine that was incapable of breaking completely away from the Stalinist concept of socialism and from justifying the appropriate political structures is irrevocably undermined by time, and the development of the social sciences also passed it by. The ideological ties to the ruling party, and which, for the most part, remained untouched, as a taboo, became unable, in the midst of the crisis phenomena, to provide any response, and in the end these contributed to the legitimacy crisis of power. This is unequivocally indicated by the spectacular resurrection of the spiritual tendencies that had earlier been pushed into the background, and which at the same time, in the midst of the increasing openness, themselves promoted the heightening of the confusion and the sense of crisis. [passage omitted]

The study illustrates with numerous data the deepening abyss between the daily experiences of the masses and the voluntarism of the Rakosi leadership; it then discusses the period between 1953-56 as the unfolding of the crisis. The government program submitted by Imre Nagy, as a consequence of the economic research begun in 1954, the criticism of the Stalinist economic model, and the realization of the comprehensive transformation proposals, were on the other hand fundamentally obstructed by the fact that the leadership of the Hungarian workers' party successfully resisted substantive change until 1956, and that it at most wanted to create the semblance of transformation. In reality the leadership undertook only those corrections which were forced upon it.

The study outlines certain turnabouts of the heightening of the struggle within the political leadership, the increase of the reform camp, and, at the same time, its exclusion from the power center.

The Stalinist model of socialism, which earlier had been opposed mostly only by the bourgeois opponents of socialist transformation, who were of various hues, was already being rejected en masse between 1953 and 1956 by Hungarian society, and by its politically most aware groups. In this they could definitely count on the support of the widest strata of the people, and even of their silent majority.

Summing up this seriously contradictory period, the study formulates its answers to two basic questions of principle: Even in retrospect it is unavoidably necessary to pose the question, which also strongly preoccupied the contemporaries—whether perhaps, even despite the grave mistakes and crimes, it was processes leading toward socialism that unfolded, or was it rather a question of frontiers and detours, of a mistaken path that compromised socialism? The answer to this question could be unequivocal and categorical only in the event of it being possible to give a fixed, normative definition of socialism. [passage omitted]

The following paragraph bears the title: The 1956 October People's Uprising. It notes, among other things:

The masses' confrontation with arbitrariness and their protest against the deterioration of living standards were expressed with elemental force. In the last week of October, the university students who took to the street against the Stalinist regime of Rakosi and Gero were joined by huge masses of workers. This was adequately demonstrated both by the participation in the battles [harcok], and the lasting and unified political mass strike.

In the 2 weeks following 23 October, apart from the national and democratic efforts, the mingling of many kinds of forces and objectives became characteristic. The many-intentioned and party-drifting [sodrodo] camp of the uprising was on a joint platform, so to say, only in the toppling from its plinth of the Stalinist model of socialism which had reigned until then, and in the crushing of the same.

Despite the gradual rightward-drifting trends concealed in the events, and the strengthening counterrevolutionary pressure of the first days of November, the separation of the mingling corrective revolution and counterrevolution, and the unequivocal clarification of the nature of the process as either this or that, its definitive consolidation could not take place. Finally, the study makes emphatic mention of the international political situation, of the threateningly sharpened tensions, of Eisenhower's message in which he says that he considers the events in Hungary to be the internal affairs of the Soviet bloc. The Soviet leadership was convinced in its arguments by the military leadership, which promised a 3-day restoration of order. The decision was coordinated with the socialist countries that agreed with the intervention, or that were urging it, such as China and Yugoslavia.

The scope of movement of the Janos Kadar-led MSZMP and government, and moreover, the entire era following this, were naturally determined by the method of the restoration of power and the objective foreign political definition of the country's stand. And because in the Soviet Union—in spite of Khrushchev's short-lived and contradiction-burdened experiment—from the 1960's to the mid-eighties a basically post-Stalinist policy was asserted, the radical transformation of the Stalinist model of socialism, its ideological or practical rejection, and the application of an independent policy, became impossible.

The exclusion of the conservative leadership strengthened the Kadar leadership and its central role. In the interests of this, as a matter of fact, numerous compromises had to be made toward the left, but a possibility opened up for taking over numerous elements of the program of the former, excluded reform wing as well.

The 3 decades following 1956 can be broken down into markedly distinct phases, the study notes, and it introduces in detail the process and circumstances under which, in 1956, the MSZMP still wished to pursue in the most direct manner the radical reform process. From January 1957, however, it fell back into the post-Stalinist definitions. [passage omitted]

Nearly half the study deals with the phenomena of the consolidation, the reform, the halting of the reform, our need to adapt to the world economic transformation and our inability to adapt, marking out the period of the unfolding of the crisis in the period between 1973 and 1988. It analyzes the characteristics of the return to the Stalinist policy, and at the same time also the numerous divergences. It establishes the existing forms of pressure exerted by the power, of a force that was disguised beyond compare. However, it also emphasizes the significant movement of interest created at this time.

In characterizing this, the study analyzes the significant correction of the Stalinist model and not its rejection. It establishes fundamental successes, the substantive transcending of the Stalinist model, in two areas: in the living standards policy and in the agrarian policy. And it registers the harmful continuity in three main areas: in the nature of the policy of industrialization, in the one-sided subordination of the infrastructure field, and in the maintaining of the main features of the Stalinist concept of socialism. [passage omitted]

During these years, Hungarian society came decidedly closer to the political power. Its earlier alienation was melting away. This was expressed by Janos Kadar's decided popularity, which he achieved as a successful politician and a successful reformer, progressing through deliberation, making masterful use of the possibilities that were at all possible in the midst of the strict definitions. The calm building work, the atmosphere of stability and advance, made it acceptable even for the intelligentsia who had received their rights and opportunities partly as a concession, and that, in the exercise of human and political rights, in historical and political thinking, they had to accept taboos. The power and the people virtually winked at one another, and did what they saw it possible to do. This political consensus was built on real economic, social, and political results.

The study also mentions the retorts of the intelligentsia in the seventies, noting that the leadership sought to sweep aside the search for reality, the comprehensive transformation concepts, and their background analyses, or to disregard them, by condemning them to a formal role sphere.

The party and the government for the most part trundled before them and postponed the tasks awaiting resolution, because, partly out of ideological and political considerations, and partly on the basis of the habits of 3 decades, it did not want to undertake the unavoidable social tensions and conflicts that accompany action. As earlier, so now as well, only the correction of the existing ambiguous, limited reform model received the green light. And yet by then the symptoms were also extremely grave. Just one example: In this decade the Hungarian national economy was, in the end, afflicted with the loss of 1 year's national income. The volume of the losses attained the scale of the material ruin suffered by the country in World War II. This was partly the objective effect resulting from the country's level of development and the international economic changes, and partly the consequence of the absence of the ability to react. Or another alarming fact: The number of people in the strata below and around the minimum level of subsistence amounts to some 2 million, which is of course aggravated by the fact that, on account of the topic's being taboo, it appears as if poverty had only now raised its head.

A decisive contribution to the evolving political crisis was the fact that the administration not only failed to find a solution for tackling the ever more frequent problems, but for a long time it even denied the real existence of the problems, or the negative phenomena, or at least it deterred an open exchange of views about them.

The leadership, even amidst the deepening conflicts and the ever sharper criticisms, was unable to break with the views evolved in the 19th century about society and its class structure, views which history had gone beyond. It reacted with rigid criticism and rejection. The party membership did not want to accept responsibility for decisions in whose preparation it had not been involved. The active strata of the party membership and the population wanted changes, but by now personnel changes as well. The party and the government, however, continued to react in the traditional way. They identified the country's desired stability with the safeguarding of their own intactness and stability. The cohesiveness of the leading sphere showed itself to be inviolable, and their social supervision to be insoluble.

Large masses of the intelligentsia, the party membership, and the entire society perceived with indignation that, when the outside barriers seemed to be falling, the Hungarian political leadership recoiled before the open gates.

The Soviet glasnost and restructuring stripped away the protective shield from over the heads of the conservative reformer-led party center, which was excessively cautious and represented an excessive gradualness. It ceased to be a basis for reference, a reason why it was not possible to advance further. Moreover, even in retrospect it was being questioned whether the scope for movement was indeed really as narrow as the leadership believed or made appear.

The study which appeared in TARSADALMI SZEMLE of course analyzed these processes in detail, weighing up the result and the failures one against the other, and indicating, also by sketching our historical past, the development of all the problems which unequivocally have to to be faced since the May 1988 party conference, and even more than that, obviously, for the historical subcommittee is also working on a fuller, more detailed version of the study, as is the 15-member working committee formed by the MSZMP and led by Imre Pozsgay.

Ivan T. Berend also stressed in the preface that they do not by any means consider the examination to be concluded. Primarily the more detailed revelation of the international connections, as well as the delineation of certain issues of the social and political processes, require further work.

The MSZMP Central Committee acquainted itself with the study of the historical subcommittee, which examined the historical path of the past decades. The MSZMP Central Committee, at its February 10-11 session, decided that it would make it public. The study is not the standpoint of the Central Committee. It does not consider the sphere of the topic to be closed; it requires further examination. It requests those interested in the topic to send their opinions, proposals, and experiences to TARSADALMI SZEMLE.

Writers Appeal to CSSR Writers on Havel Trial

LD2102194789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The Hungarian Pen Club Presidium has expressed in a telegram its deep anxiety over the fact that dramatist Vaclav Havel has been placed on trial in Prague. In the message to the Czechoslovak Writers Association, the presidium calls on its president to intercede on behalf of the dramatist.

Jeno Andics Views Current Political Situation

AU1502092589 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Interview with Jeno Andics, MSZMP Central Committee secretary for agitation and propaganda, by Karl Stipsicz; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Stipsicz] Dr Andics, the present political situation in Hungary is chaotic. In your opinion, what aspects will endure from these 40 years of socialism, as some call it, or of communism, as others call it?

[Andics] I cannot give you a simple answer. What will endure or what will not endure has to be discussed. It is very likely that the superiority of nonprivate property will endure. However, I cannot say in what form. The values that are regarded as progressive by all leftist movements in Europe will certainly endure. However, again I cannot say in what form. I think that we are in a situation in which the economic and political model has basically changed. In such a situation the question of what will endure and what will not cannot be answered in a simple manner. Everything has to be examined. We certainly want to remain socialist. However, the meaning of the word socialist has to be clarified in discussions today and in the future.

[Stipsicz] Is the communist party, the MSZMP, the traditional center of power, setting the pace at the moment and still directing the reforms? There are people within the party who doubt this.

[Andics] Look, since the party's national congress, the party has initiated important reform measures. The party is directing the changes insofar as these changes have been initiated by the party. Undoubtedly, there are also phenomena which show that, if we consider all the party members, a fairly large number of them are not completely prepared, and that these reform measures which are being undertaken very rapidly, are unexpected by many within and without the party. This results in uncertainty, uneasiness, tensions. There is a group that clings to the old traditions and the old model. There are also attempts at reform that are not very well thought out. Thus, I would say that the party is undergoing a process of innovation. This process will certainly take months, probably years.

[Stipsicz] Apparently, a multiparty system is increasingly aspired to, at least verbally. The communist party has stated that this multiparty system should be established on a socialist basis. That is to say, each party should be attached to socialism. Why is this restriction still required?

[Andics] First, I would like to add several things to the question about the multiparty system. Now the point has to be realism [as heard], a realistic model rather than a multiparty system. Such institutions for articulating and representing different interests are not necessarily parties. This opportunity is offered by the bills that have now been passed. Thus, it does not depend on politicians any longer. This process has almost been completed through legislation; and the laws are also valid for the politicians.

As for the multiparty system and why it should be socialist, I would like to answer this in connection with your first question on the meaning of socialism. What socialism looks like has to be discussed. There are general values that can be termed socialist. There is a wide range. Opposition parties who represent different interests are part of it. For example, the opportunity for political forces that I would call Christian Democratic—a Christian Democratic way of thinking does not exclude socialism; socialism does not mean an ideology but rather a social process, social goals...

[Stipsicz, interrupting] But is the real situation not somehow being ignored? There is a kind of Gruenderzeit capitalism [period of rapid industrial expansion in Germany, 1871-73]. At least, the people are requested to think in all their dealings in terms of the market economy, but then they should act politically in line with socialism. Is this not a contradiction?

[Andics] The market economy does not necessarily mean private property. Now the agenda calls for increasing the share of private property. However, private property is insignificant today. Therefore, the attempts to leave more scope for private property do not at all endanger a socialist economic system. I would even say that, as there is no private capital in the country, we will soon be able to completely exclude the survival of private property, simply because the required capital is lacking.

[Stipsicz] As expected, the topic of 1956 has now become a major political issue. This had been predicted by many people. The year 1956 was the starting point of the Kadar government, and its political legitimacy was based on this. What is happening now is not exactly a reappraisal of this period, but a critical attitude is being adopted, and a new chapter has been opened. Why are the 1956 events still viewed so emotionally, and why are they still so important and controversial?

[Andics] First of all, tensions and desires of the entire society surfaced during the 1956 events. Of course, the consequences are still being felt today. Second, I think that today's evaluation of the events is not possible without taking into consideration the development of the past decades. In December 1956 and 1957, the Central Committee provided a differentiated assessment of the events that took place at the time. After 1958, and during the following 2 decades, a much simpler view of the 1956 events was presented.

[Stipsicz] Hungary apparently is still a long way from interpreting the events as a popular uprising.

[Andics] I do not think so. Popular uprising is a neutral term. It means that not only one strata but virtually all strata of the population were involved. Thus, one can speak of an uprising of the population. This connotes no indication of the aims of such an uprising. The uprising can lead to a revolution, a counterrevolution, and can be an expression of dissatisfaction. All this is possible. Quite a number of uprisings took place in the past which were neither revolutions nor counterrevolutions. (?It was primarily a form of dissatisfaction).

Szuros Discusses MSZMP Deputies' Conference

LD1402161889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] At MSZMP Headquarters the conference of the communist parliamentary deputies started at 0900 today. There is a break right now. Eva Sos went to the scene and interviewed Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros.

[Begin recording] [Sos] What was on the agenda?

[Szuros] The topics of the 8 March session are on the agenda—that is, the basic principles and concept of the new constitution, the amendment of the labor code, and the preliminary debate of the bill on strikes.

So Gyorgy Fejti has already delivered a report on the concept of the constitution, and State Secretary Csaba Halmos is verbally explaining the two bills so that the deputies can understand what kind of professional questions we are discussing. So, these two agenda items are under discussion. We are waiting for the third item on the agenda, when the deputies should ask questions and raise issues in connection with their own work, or with the work of the National Assembly, and formulate certain requirements.

[Sos] My question is: How does a communist faction operate, and how are the deputies informed?

[Szuros] Yes, to date we have oriented deputies who are party members, mainly with information, and we have prepared them for the session. It seems that today that is not enough.

[Sos] Does this mean influencing as well?

[Szuros] It does mean influencing as well, of course. That is, they have to know the stand of the Central Committee and of leading party bodies on certain issues.

Well, now, these group sessions have become more regular and lively. The National Assembly, which is becoming increasingly dynamic, requires this. Now we are thinking about how, when givng information, which, as I mentioned, is also orientation, we can adjust our work to the changed circumstances.

The thing is that the faction of the party member deputies cannot operate as a faction in the conventinal sense. I have previously made a statement about this, for it was not the party that nominated the candidates but rather the PPF. Thus here, in this respect, the status of the party members and the nonparty members is the same, because they had to adopt the platform of the People's Front to be nominated.

However, everyone knows that there are various processes taking place in Hungarian society. Our political system is arranging itself in accordance with the expession of interests. New alternative groupings and party-like formations are being formed, and various groupings are also coming into existence within the National Assembly. This makes the group of deputies who are party members also adjust their work accordingly.

We thus are going to go beyond the informative briefing. There will be a need for a kind of organizational work so that the party member deputies are more prepared for representing party policy and the country's affairs. What we mean is that just like those outside the party, they are present, by representing the entire country and the nation and by representing the citizens of their constituency. But the party members, at the same time, try to approach and represent these matters in the spirit of the party's policy.

CSSR's Miroslav Stepan Arrives 16 Feb

LD1602135989 Budapest MTI in English
1154 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—A Prague party delegation headed by Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and first secretary of the Prague party committee, arrived in Budapest on Thursday [16 February]. The delegation is to spend two days in the Hungarian capital at the invitation of the HSWP Budapest Committee. At Ferihegy Airport, Budapest, the delegation met Mihaly Jasso, member of the HSWP CC [Central Committee] and first secretary of the Budapest party committee.

Meets With Grosz, Lukacs

LD1802102989 Prague CTK in English
1330 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest Feb 17 (CTK correspondent)—General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Karoly Grosz met here today with Presidium member of the Czcechoslovak Communist Party and leading Secretary of the Prague city committee of the party Miroslav Stepan who ends his two-day working visit to Hungary today.

Karoly Grosz appreciated the results of his recent visit to Prague and the fact that it is followed by discussions of leading secretaries of the Prague and Budapest city committees of the party. He stressed in this connection the role of the party organizations in the two capitals and the significance of their contacts in the realization of the program of social and economic changes in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Miroslav Stepan conferred also with Politburo member and Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee Janos Lukacs. They exchanged opinions on the internal situation in their parties and countries and experience from the work of the city party committees of Prague and Budapest.

Departs 17 Feb

LD1802123989 Budapest MTI in English
2003 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—The delegation of the Prague Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), which spent two days in the Hungarian capital at the invitation of the Budapest party committee, left Hungary on Friday [17 February].

Headed by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPC CC [Central Committee] Presidium and first secretary of the Prague party committee, the delegation held talks with Mihaly Jasso, member of the HSWP Central Committee and first secretary of the Budapest party committee, on cooperation between the two capitals and the possibilities of developing relations.

Mr Stepan met Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, and Janos Lukacs, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

Romanian Refugees Arrive in Budapest From Sofia

LD1902164189 Budapest MTI in English 1647 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI)—The 12 Transylvanian refugees who have been staying in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia arrived in Budapest on Saturday [18 February] morning in two cars and a minibus belonging to the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna. In a humanitarian gesture by the Bulgarian Government and with the mediation of the International Red Cross, they were allowed to leave for Vienna on Friday.

"All of them have been put up by relatives in Budapest or in the provinces," Dr Arpad Alfoldy, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Red Cross, told MTI. He had travelled with the eight adults and four children. The atmosphere had been rather tense throughout their trip, since they feared some form of retaliation, both on the flight and during the car journey. This humanitarian act had helped to settle the fate of the 12 Transylvanian refugees, with the cooperation of the International, the Bulgarian and the Hungarian organizations of the Red Cross.

MTI's Sofia correspondent reported that Hungarian Ambassador Sandor Simsics broke the good news to the refugees at 1 o'clock pm on Friday, one-and-a-half hours before their departure.

The ambassador laid special emphasis on the fact that the settlement of the issue was made possible by the humanitarian gesture of the Bulgarian Government, after the Romanian side refused even to negotiate. Therefore, acknowledgement and many thanks are owed to the Bulgarians, as well as the Red Cross organizations, for making the necessary arrangements efficiently and without delay. At the same time, Mr Simsics warned that this way of seeking asylum was by no means advisable.

PPF To Discuss New March Front Proposals

LD1802102589 Budapest MTI in English 1115 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—The national board of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF) is to hold a session on Friday [17 February] on proposals for a representational democracy, put forward by the New March Front, as well as for the PPF's own plan of action.

The draft of the body's manifesto clearly states that the PPF considers a multi-party political structure a necessary condition of a representational democracy, all the more so in view of the intense social demand for legal, directly established, political representation. Transition should not, however, jeopardize the stability of the country's social system. The document stresses that the PPF cannot give up its function as mediator in an alliance in the new political structure, although it does not wish to be exclusively an institution of the coalition.

Independent Unions Protest Labor Code Changes

LD1802214889 Budapest MTI in English 2152 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—Four independent trade unions, which are not affiliated to the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), protested in a statement against the planned amendment to the labour code and the strike bill. They proposed that the parliamentary debate scheduled for March 8 should be postponed. According to their standpoint, the draft would deprive the members of the minority unions of the means of asserting their interests.

The statement demands that the regulation should grant equal rights to all unions operating at one and the same workplace and should not prevent the establishment of inter-union forums for interest coordination.

Soviet Military Barracks Hold 'Open Day'

LD1802220489 Budapest MTI in English 2026 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI)—As officially announced, preparations for a partial Soviet troop pull-out have started according to schedule, Brigadier General Yosip Bakratovich Oganyan, deputy commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary, told journalists admitted to the Army barracks at Hajmasker for Saturday's [18 February] open day. The brigadier general stressed they wanted to guarantee a peace zone, and want to withdraw their forces to garrisons that were further from the frontiers of Hungary.

The open day was meant to further enhance the spirit of openness and friendship between the two peoples, as well as to give a picture of the Army's activities.

Five garrisions in Hungary held such open days to mark the 71st anniversary of the Red Army and also the Soviet peace initiatives. The Debrecen event was attended by Nikita Darchiyev, Soviet chief consul in Debrecen.

Magyar Minority Paper Circulated in Budapest

LD1902164988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] The first issue of the review circulated among the Magyar minority in Transylvania, entitled THE CRYING VOICE [KIALTO SZO], has been presented in Budapest. Two issues of the publication have appeared to date, and it will be possible to read its first copies in Hungary within a few weeks. The names of the paper's editors were not disclosed at the international news conference. Its representatives stated that the paper carries essays, studies, and political pamphlets, and it calls on every decent Transylvanian Magyar and honest Romanian democrat to cooperate.

Further Reports on Continuing Strike Actions

PAP Updates Situation

LD2202030189 Warsaw PAP in English
0016 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—The industrial action announced last Monday by personnel of the Kalisz branch of the PKS state road transport enterprise continues. The drivers want shorter working time and a pay raise. Pay negotiations are also going on at the municipal transport enterprise in Kalisz and at the PKS branch in Ostrow Wielkopolski.

A meeting of the Council of the Federation of Unions of Municipal Transport Employees held in Lodz today said that the agreement concluded with the government side had not been fulfilled. The Council decided to temporarily suspend the holding of further protests by the federation until the issue had been settled, but not after this March 1st.

The strike alert declared ten days ago at the destructive [as received] distillation of wood enterprise at Hajnowka, Bialystok Province, has turned into a sit-in strike.

A strike alert continues at the zootechnical experimental farm at Kolbacz, Szczecin Province.

On behalf of some 20 thousand employees of the whole CPN oil industry enterprise the trade unionists of the enterprise began a pay dispute with the Ministry of Industry.

The strike of farmers in Elblag Province goes on. The Voivodship Union of Farmers, Farm Circles and Organizations in Gdansk declared a Solidarity strike in this connection. Farmers protest deteriorating profitability of farm production and poor supplies for the countryside.

DPA Reports Strikes, Protests

LD2102203389 Hamburg DPA in German
1955 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Jozef Matera, first secretary of the party organization, is heading the public transport strike committee in the area of Dabrowa Gornicza in Katowice. The information service of the still officially banned trade union Solidarity reported this today from Katowice. According to this information, the chairman of the official trade union in the enterprise and two people employed in the cadre department are also members of the strike committee. The official trade unions have, for more than a week, been calling for nationwide strikes and protest actions by bus drivers. Bus traffic has been at a standstill for days in several towns and areas.

Today in Warsaw and Krakow students demanded democratic elections. Behind the demonstrations was the banned nationalist Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). According to reports from Solidarity circles, approximately 1,000 people protested in Krakow against the trial now being conducted in Prague against the writer Vaclav Havel. Three of the demonstrators in Krakow were arrested. In Warsaw, three KPN leaders were arrested when they tried, together with about a dozen demonstrators, to march to the parliament with banners to deliver a petition calling for free elections.

Political Reform Co-Chairman Views Roundtable

LD1802234789 Warsaw PAP in English
2220 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw Feb 18—"Even if the roundtable produces nothing more, we'll be able to speak of great political success of this body after what has been discussed today," this is how Karol Szyndzielorz, participating on the government side, assessed Saturday's debate of the political team today.

Co-chairman of the team Janusz Reykowski pointed out the radical changes in the government-proposed electoral law which allows, among other things, nomination of candidates for Sejm deputies by citizens themselves and eliminates any administrative or political pre-selection of the candidates. This is a step towards further changes, he said.

He indicated at the same time that another important topic, the introduction of presidency, had incited a lively discussion which, just like the debate on the detailed structure of the future of parliament, will be continued by the next meetings of the team and by the working groups it has appointed.

Answering the question whether early elections are to be expected and when they will be held, Reykowski pointed out that the reforms discussed at the roundtable should progress quickly, in tune with the will of the conference participants.

This is why the Sejm election, as one of the important elements of the reforms, cannot delay this process. As for the date of election, allowing for the arrangements preceding them and regulate by law, we consider June, this year, Reykowski replied.

Team for Economy and Social Policy Assembles

Third Meeting Held 20 Feb

LD2002214389 Warsaw PAP in English
1808 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The roundtable team for economy and social policy had its third meeting here today with Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski in the chair.

Baka said the government side approached with due attention the fears voiced in the course of the previous meetings of the team and has now come up with an outline working project of key socio-economic factors in the new social contract. "While formulating the outline we thoroughly analyzed concrete proposals tabled by all sides," Baka said, adding: "We are of the opinion that by materializing the mandate of the roundtable we should focus our attention on issues of utmost importance, on which there is a chance to reach consensus."

Baka listed the above issues in 5 points. The first point embraces prompt actions aimed to increase and improve the supplies to the consumer market. The package also comprises moves to stimulate economic activity. Also, the point is to redistribute production factors, which entails changes in the law on sanating [as received] economy and on bankruptcy of enterprises. The first package also covers changes in the investment policy, attaining maximum results on the consumer market by way of cooperation with foreign countries, elimination of rationing, demonopolization, and restoration of balance.

The second point is curbing of inflation. The key condition for attaining this goal is to restore a commodity-money equilibrium. Balancing of the central budget within the next two or three years is considered an indispensable condition for overcoming the inflation presure. Among the other components of this package which runs a chance of winning a consensus is sanation of the credit-and-deposit policy and effective countering of the economy's getting dollar-based, to be attained through such moves as withdrawing Polish-made goods from internal exports (from outlets selling goods for convertible currencies).

Point three on the list entails shielding people against the effects of inflation and of radical introduction of reforms. What comes to the fore here is indexation of wages and social security as an instrument meant to protect the people against the effects of price hikes. Also, it is indispensable to work out a programme of labour security, Baka said.

Point four speaks of the new economic order, its creation being conditional on changes in the structure of ownership. This embraces socialization of state enterprises through establishing self-management ownership and through enterprises assuming the form of joint-stock companies or their assets being rented out to crews, through a return to a genuine cooperative system, constitutional guarantees for private ownership and its permanency in Poland.

Other issues as to which compromise seems possible include demonopolization of the economy, liquidation of all forms of privileges and discrimination with regard to respective sectors, introduction of market mechanisms in economic relations, independence of enterprises and self-management of crews.

Point five of the said project concerns barriers in foreign debt servicing which should be overcome. This among other things involves normalization of financial relations with the West, including temporary grace periods for debt repayment.

Effectiveness of economic recovery will largely be determined by society's support and readiness for active participation in implementation of the outlined programme. That is why the draft provides for roundtable participants undertaking, in the name of social forces they represent, a common effort with an eye to putting an end to the currently intensifying wave of strikes, claims and collective disputes. Also, over the coming two-three years, disputes and conlficts should be settled out of court and the price-income policy should be agreed upon ad hoc by the socio state commission for prices and incomes.

The draft also points out that a will should be expressed of concerted actions on the international arena and in contacts with representatives of foreign organizations and institutions, aimed at overcoming the debt barrier and increasing the international role and position of the Polish economy.

Baka proposed that the draft, which he described as open, be subject to a substantive discussion.

Witold Trzeciakowski said the draft was of a fundamental significance, touching upon all the key matters of concern to the opposition-Soldarity side. But as we received the document on Friday evening, there was no possibility of its being consulted within an internal working group. That is why we cannot accept the proposed discussion, and we will present our stand on the draft in a week's time, he said.

Trzeciakowski expressed his own preliminary remarks on the draft, making a reservation that they had not been agreed with his colleagues. First—he said—the five-point programme can be accepted as a starting point for holding an orderly discussion, with a possibility to put forward new points, changes, supplements and more precise wording of the proposed provisions.

Second—all arrangements made by the team for economy and social policy can be accepted together with arrangements presented by the trade union team and the political team. Third—the draft should be supplemented with figures. Fourth—the draft fails to envisage the fundamental condition of society taking part in decision-making. This co-participation and social control should find their institutional form in a second chamber of parliament. This being a matter of a distant future, current control of implementation of the social accord would have to rest with an economic consultative commission.

The proposed draft accord—Trzeciakowski went on to say—fails to take account of many a current question to be settled directly at the roundtable.

Wladyslaw Baka next proposed the formation of working groups which would concretize detailed questions and report at the next meeting on both convergences and divergences in opinions. While sharing at length the conviction that matters examined within all the teams should be viewed as one package, Baka said he would not forgive himself should it turn out that excessive delays in the work of the team for economy and social policy hindered the progress of the roundtable at large.

Baka proposed that the opposition-Solidarity side should present its official stand on the draft of common decisions in a week's time and that the exchange fo views aimed to prepare a better version of the document should take place at today's meeting.

Trzeciakowski upheld his previous opinion, stressing that the side represented by him cannot take a stand without consultations with a group taking part in the work of the political team and asked to postpone discussion of this topic by a week.

In this situation, the work on examining the government tabled draft was adjourned till the next session of the team. Next, the debaters delivered reports supplementing the stands presented during the two previous sessions of the team.

The discussion focussed to a great extent on the conditions of the functioning of the working crews' self-management. The statements show common approach to the need of self-management's active role in increasing the effectiveness of the enterprises' management. In this respect, the self-management's role in enterprises whose financial condition is bad, the self-management's pro-social behaviour (particularly in monopolist enterprises) and the employees' participation in enterprises with different forms of ownership (from the state ones, companies and ending with private enterprises) are detailed questions for further discussion.

Under the decisions made at the team's previous meeting, the debaters explained more extensively questions of the Polish indebtedness, budgetary savings in the administration, the Interior and National Defence Ministries (this was discussed by representatives of Sejm committees), cadre policy and expanding the scope of statistical data.

Wage Indexing Team Meets

*LD2202101689 Warsaw PAP in English
0030 GMT 22 Feb 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—A working group for wages and incomes indexation, chosen from among the members of the roundtable team for economy and social policy, assembled for another meeting here today.

They had agreed in principle at the previous meeting that the method of indexation, that is, tying wages and inflation, should be used as protection from the inflation effects and a measure easing the workers' pressure on higher wages. Details such as the scope of indexation, its scale and criteria were left to be decided later.

The government side maintained that the already existing system of wages and incomes already comprises or will develop elements of individual indexation. It results from the principle of increasing minimum wages proportionally to the pace of growth of living costs and, indirectly, it means rise in all wages. A general, 40 percent wages growth (or even bigger if greater efficiency in enterprises is achieved) is planned for this year. The wages in the budgetary sphere grow at a considerably greater pace than costs of living. A system of re-valorization of disability and old age pension is in operation. In general, there exists a package of instruments, though they are still insufficient and can be enriched.

The Ministry of Labour representatives stressed that obligatory and arbitrary indexation of wages should not be made. The same is true of direct indexation superposed on the existing system of wages, which was proposed by Solidarity and OPZZ representatives. This threatens with cranking up inflation. There also are other dangers: There is no chance, in effect, to straighten the proportions of wages in various enterprises and branches. For this reason a partial coefficient should be adopted to correct the growth of prices.

The unionists preferred full and obligatory indexation. While sharing the fear of growing inflation if indexation is superposed over the existing waging system the Solidarity-and-opposition side stressed the necessity to establish starting points. This means that after precise computations there could be enterprises which have already compensated for themselves the growth of prices under the existing system and will not benefit from the indexation mechanism.

In view of the differences of opinion the team adopted no stand on indexation. Representatives of both sides will meet again next Thursday to make the calculations and analyse the effects of indexation, while the next meeting of the whole group will be held February 28.

Associations Subteam Holds First Meeting

*LD2202101589 Warsaw PAP in English
0109 GMT 22 Feb 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—The roundtable subteam for associations and local self-government today held its first meeting which was co-chaired by Zbigniew Bujak and Kazimierz Secomski.

Tomasz Boczkowski, a representative of the government press bureau, briefed PAP on the course of the debates and the guidelines presented in the addresses delivered at the meeting.

In the name of the coalition-government side Secomski presented issues of a general nature which should find a more detailed development in discussions. He pointed out that the debates of the team would primarily focus on problems concerning the draft law on associations and issues of developing the system of local self-government of cities and villages.

Also Zbigniew Bujak stressed that two spheres were the essence of the subteam's work: the law on associations and the development of local self-government. The point is for stances to be formulated at the subteam's forum which would be conducive to the work of the team for political reforms. Bujak in this respect referred to the addresses of the roundtable inaugurational meeting, accentuating that far-reaching declarations were contained in Czeslaw Kiszczak's speech.

The addresses of Stanislawa Grabska and Jerzy Regulski were a continuation of Zbigniew Bujak's address. We proceed from the premise that the right to associate is the citizens' own right and not only the possibility of gaining from the state authorities a privilege or licence to associate within frames strictly determined by the privelege, Grabska said.

Grabska perceived certain elements of granting society its rights in the presented draft law on associations but at the same time thought that stances of granting priveleges still lingered.

Jerzy Regulski on the other hand focused on matters associated with the directions of developing local self-government in Poland. The reforms declared by the authorities in the last two years in many points do not depart from our guidelines and the introduced modifications aim at the right direction. They are nonetheless too slow and fragmentary for them to be effective and to meet social expectations, Regulski said.

Jan Brol gave extensive explanations about the intentions and character of the solutions adopted in the draft new law on associations. He stressed that the bill above all stipulates the principle of freedom to associate and that the only limitation to this is the accordance of operations with the Constitution, the law and the statute of a given association.

Brol announced that under the bill, supervision over associations would be exercised by appropriate bodies of state administration of the voivodship level. This will however be supervision void of powers, without encroachment upon the association's affairs.

Media Team Chairman Interviewed After Meeting

LD1802102489 Warsaw PAP in English 0150 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—When the meeting of the mass media subteam was over, its co-chairmen Bogdan Jachacz and Krzysztof Kozlowski commented on the course of the talks.

This subteam is said by circles close to the roundtable to be one of the most difficult ones, Jachacz said. Today's meeting initially reviewed the issues related to a new positioning of social communication media, among them mass media, in a way allowing them to better serve the process of agreement which is so laborously built in Poland.

We believe, and not only we do so, that the state must own radio and television. Even the OPZZ, DP [Democratic Party], and UPP [United Peasant Party] admit it, said Kozlowski. Only the party (PUWP) says that radio, TV, and RSW "Prasa" (workers' publishing co-operative "Press") that is 90 per cent of the daily press and 70 per cent of the weeklies, should be controlled by the PUWP. There cannot be agreement to such a position, Kozlowski said.

Jachacz added that after this initial phase, a week from now we are going to find it pretty difficult to assimilate our positions. It is important whether both sides will have the will to understand and move forward those swollen problems of mass media. Of course, differences in opinions are big and important and prejudice hardly make talks easier.

The optimistic thing is what is already changing in the functioning of mass media. The television, news bulletins and other programmes, especially reports on the roundtable, present people of all colours, wearing the badges of Solidarity, OPZZ, and UPP who speak with their own voices. It is similar in the radio and press, Jachacz stressed. We are fully determined to go ahead with the information openness, honesty, credibility, and respect for partners. Each day confirms this openness, the readiness to make further legal steps based on the hitherto guarantees.

We shall push for getting our own mass media and means of contacting with the people, Kozlowski said.

Media Team Members Listed

AU2102172189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] The "roundtable" media team is chaired by Bogdan Jachacz and Krzysztof Kozlowski. The composition of the team is as follows:

Jacek Ambroziak, Julian Bartosz, Grzegorz Boguta, Andrzej Dobrzynski, Kazimierz Dziewanowski, Dariusz Fikus, Artur Howzan, Maciej Ilowiecki, Bogdan Jachacz, Janina Jankowska, Jan Kofman, Zygmunt Kaluzynski, Jozef Klis, Jozef Kowalczyk, Krzysztof Kozlowski, Marcin Krol, Mieczyslaw Lesniak, Wlodzimierz Lozinski, Helena Luczywo, Ryszard Lukasiewicz, Jerzy Lotys, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Jacek Moskwa, Adam Michnik, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Marek Opasnik, Roman Pillardy, Wladyslaw Serafin, Waldemar Swirgon, Slawomir Tabkowski, Krzysztof T. Toeplitz, Jerzy Urban, Jacek Wozniakowski, Jozef Wojcik, and Zbigniew Zemler.

List of Members of Roundtable Mining Team

AU2102172389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] The "roundtable" mining team is chaired by Marian Gustek, Rajmund Moric, and Alojzy Pietrzyk. The composition of the team is as follows:

Marian Bak, Artur beben, Wlodzimierz Bojarski, Mieczyslaw Borawski, Ryszard Brzuzy, Jan Ciesielski, Pawel Czartoryski, Stanislaw Drozdowski, Gerard Gabrys, Grazyna Gesicka, Andrzej Glapinski, Wladyslaw Grodzki, Boguslaw Helski, Janusz Jarlinski, Tadeusz Jedynak, Mieczyslaw Kaczmarczyk, Andrzej Kaplanek, Henryk Karas, Zbigniew Klonowki, Zdzislaw Kleczek, Waclaw Kociela, Witold Koprowicz, Ryszard Korzeniowski, Wiktor Krywulko, Jan Litynski, Andrzej naczynski, janusz Pawlowski, Marian Peterko, Leszek Piotrowski, Piotr Polmanski, Edward Pusz czewicz, Henryk Rembierz, Bogumil Rupala, Grzegorz Stawski, Wladyslaw Stepien, Jaroslaw Sz czepanski, Stanislaw Weglarz, Ryszard Zbrzyznym Kazimierz Ziaja, Tadeusz Zielinski, and Jerzy Ziomoch.

TU Spokesman on Media, Mining, Agriculture

LD1802100889 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—Access to radio and television was the most controversial issue at a session of the roundtable subteam for mass media, said OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Spokesman Franciszek Ciemny at a press conference today. OPZZ representative in this team Zbigniew Zemler added that radio and TV should be state-owned and thus should be a vehicle for all legal opinions voiced in this country, including those of the opposition.

The OPZZ is against the proposal of the Solidarity which wants a separate TV channel. The distribution of the already scarce quota of paper (for press publications—ed) should not be altered either: the point is that it should be put to better use so that needs of people be satisfied. OPZZ representatives supported at the subteam's session Miodowicz's motion to abolish preventive censorship of publications.

Mining continues to be an asylum for the Stalinist command method of managing which marked Polish economy, said OPZZ representative in the subteam for mining Rajmind Moric, and added that also this branch of industry should become market-oriented. The matter of primary importance, however, is that an end should be put to the practice of foreplanning the output quota basing on the 6-day working week, emphasized he. The agreement, negotiated recently with the Ministry of Industry, guarantees that work on Saturday and Sunday is voluntary, but further organizational changes are needed to prevent a dramatic decrease in output.

OPZZ representative in the team for agriculture emphasized that agriculture should become market-oriented. By this the OPZZ means that prices of agricultural products should be minimal but profit-giving, and prices of means of agricultural production should be maximal. The idea is to liquidate the monopoly not only in the purchase and production of food, but also in the trade in means of agricultural production, said he.

Solidarity on Responsibility for Housing Problems

LD1702100289 Warsaw PAP in English 0110 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—The housing drama in Poland is so acute that the authorities cannot negate the tragic nature of the situation, Aleksander Paszynski, co-chairman, on the part of Solidarity, of the subteam for housing policy, said at a meeting with newsmen, held to present the course of the debates of the subteam.

Solidarity holds the view that the housing shortage in Poland does not come as a result of the crisis of the last seven-eight years, its source is the erroneous policy of the authorities since the very beginning.

The Solidarity representative said that in order to contain the housing shortage in Poland some 300,000 flats should be rendered for use every year, and in order to be in tune with the Gdansk agreements of 1980—as many as 500,000 flats ought to be built yearly. But since 1981 the number of new flats handed over for use has been less than 200,000 per annum.

As far as solutions are concerned, Solidarity holds the view that the state should guarantee those on a waiting list that they get the flat according to the binding regulations. Special encouraging mechanisms should be created for those who want to be active. Those mechanisms should include universal access to cheap credits, ten-year tax free period for manufacturers of construction materials, establishment of a housing bank which would be independent from the state and whose activity would also be tax-free, major changes in the system of investment and trade in flats, among other things.

What poses another reason for concern is the poor state of a sizeable part of the existing houses which is manifested in their progressing material depreciation. The expenditure for repairs of houses meets three per cent of the demand, the 1985 gap amounting to some 2.2 trillion zloties.

Roundtable Health Team Begins Work 18 Feb

LD1802225689 Warsaw PAP in English
2111 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—The "roundtable" sub-team for health started working today. The session, in which 33 persons took part, was co-chaired by: Wojciech Guglas, Zofia Kuratowska and Andrzej Wojtczak.

Representative of the Government Press Office Tomasz Boczkowski told PAP reporter about the course of the session.

At the start, Wojtczak expressed hope that the debates and the exchange of opinions and views would lead to working out solutions that should aim to improve health of society, health care, and accessibility and quality of services. The proposals to reform the system of health care contained in the document "directions and Assumptions of the system of Health and Social Care," approved lately by the government socio-political committee, aim in this direction.

Wojtcsak pointed to excessive centralization of decisions in health service. The reform of the health care system aims to break with the practice of the administrative running of health service that must be replaced with socio- economic stimuli. Decentralization of health care and its financing must also take place. Basic health care should ensure high quality of medical services. Socialization of the process of making decisions and managing health service institutions must also be an important part of the new system. Directions of the reform envisage that a fund of health insurance will be the target source of financing prophylactic, curative, and rehabilitation activity. The fund would be based on insurance fees paid by physical persons and corporate bodies carrying out economic activity.

Kuratowska was the next speaker who stressed that health became political category in Poland. She postulated that the budget for health care, now accounting for about 5 percent of the national income for distribution together with investments, should be increased still this budget year.

The work of the administrative and bureaucratic machine paralyzes health care. Thus, it is necessary to reduce administration of all levels to necessary dimensions. Health service needs employees of administration cooperating with a doctor, the so-called medical secretaries, who can replace them in doing paperwork and arranging tens of formalities. To enable this system to function, it is necessary to democratize it, that is, to universally introduce self-government bodies, including professional ones, such as doctors' chambers with decisionmaking powers.

It is highly important to have the supplies of medicines and disposable equipment. Medicines should enjoy absolute priority in the state import policy, Kuratowska stressed.

The Union Movement of Health Care Workers, although I am aware of the economic limitations, strongly maintains that financial means earmarked for health protection are insufficient, Guglas said. He pointed to the fact that austerities or extra financial sources could be looked for in the industrial health service by, for instance, making the enterprises pay for medical services going beyond the direct duties of this service.

Guglas called the problem of basic health care as the most important one to deal with and solve. We think it is necessary to recognize as part of the social accord the determination of the scale and method of financing health protection and the range of health services due to the citizens, and of the principles of functioning of the health service.

Fourteen participants spoke in the discussion and set up and fixed personal compositions of the two working teams: for employees and self-government and for the reform of the system of health care and social assistance. The next plenary session will be held on February.

Roundtable Team on Youth Meets, Begins Debates

First Session Detailed

LD1702085389 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—The roundtable sub-team for youth inaugurated its debates under co-chairmanship of Andrzej Celinski and Leszek Miller today.

Zbigniew Augustynowicz of the Government Press Office informed PAP journalist about the course of the session.

The first to take the floor was Leszek Miller who said: We do not sit down at this table to defend the status quo and we are determined to introduce profound transformations in the whole socio-political and economic system. The authorities treat seriously the problems of the younger generations. Starting the talks we do not have a feeling of satisfaction over our own accomplishments. We do not want, as it used to be in the past, to limit or ration the initiative of the youth, to be administrators of the young. Yet, we should not build new organisational forms of society on the basis of the existing differences, or antagonisms, Miller said.

Next, Miller proposed to jointly, firstly, address the complex educational problems and to discuss the issues or organisational pluralism in youth communities, educational functions of military service as well as the conditions of socio-professional adaptation of various youth groups and milieux. Secondly, he proposed to discuss the complex of matters connected with welfare and living conditions of the young generation (housing construction, health care, access to cultural goods). Thirdly—to discuss issues of youth's start into professional life. Fourthly—to deal with the participation of young people in excercising power, in public and political life. Fifthly—to propose actions which will minimize the negative effects of young people's emigration. Sixthly—to consider the causes and effects of various kinds of social ills afflicting a part of the youth.

Next the floor was taken by Andrzej Celinski who pointed out that the discussion's main goal should be to find the most concrete solutions. On behalf of the side which he represents, Celinski presented a list of issues which should be discussed by the sub-team.

The first issue concerns the right of the youth to unite freely in associations, unions, organizations according to their aspirations and under the requirements of the law. Celinski postulated to make it possible for the Independent Students' Association (NZS) to act legally in all higher schools in Poland which he recognized as a condition for political stabilization in students' circles. He also postulated to legalize the union of the republic's pathfinders.

Celinski also pointed to the question of subjective organization by the youth of their free time and to the necessity of fundamental changes in military service, indicating the need to make it ideologically neutral, and to specify conditions for alternative military service. He also mentioned the issue of vivid differences in treating various groups of the youth, particularly young workers coming to big cities. Possibilities should be created for them to settle down in the cities where they work and live. The speaker also presented the incidents of violence used against young people at militia outposts.

Winding up his speech, Celinski expressed satisfaction with the initial statement by Leszek Miller that "we are not taking seats at the table to defend the status quo." This evokes hope, he said, that our time will not be wasted.

The vice-chairman of the Committee for the Youth Affairs and Physical Culture, Julian Nuckowski, presented the main goals of the state's youth policy and encouraged to co-shaping [phrase as received] of that policy.

The sub-team for the youth decided to create a working group which would elaborate on suggestions for the agenda and range of topics for the next sub-team meeting.

Participants in the discussion: Robert Bitner, Wojciech Wroblewski, Marek Frackowiak, Jakub Boratynski, Henryk Tachasiuk, Jan Maria rokita, Elzbieta Golik, Wlodzimierz Lawniczak, Jerzy Sz czygielski, Jan Krzeminski, Bogumil Szreder, Franciszek Szalkiewicz, Andrzej Polok, Anita Matczak.

Members of Team Listed

AU2102170389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] The following is the composition of the "roundtable" team for youth affairs:

Robert Bitner, Jakub Boratynski, Andrzej Celinski, Helena Chodkowska, Marek Frackowiak, Elzbieta Golik, Wieslaw Isio, Wojciech Jankowski, Jan Krzeminski, Wlodzimierz Lawniczak, Andrzej Lusz czewski, Krzysztof Maksymiuk, Anita Matczak, Leszek Miller, Julian Nuckowski, Ladyslaw Piasecki, Eugeniusz Pietrasik, Andrzej Polok, Jan Maria Rokita, Jacek Selin, Zbigniew Sobotka, Andrzej Sosnowski, Roman Szarek, Franciszek Szalkiewicz, Jerzy Sz czygielski, Jaroslaw Sleszynski, Henryk Tachasiuk, Slawomir Wiatr, Wojciech Wroblewski, and Jakub Wygnanski.

Miller Comments on Meeting

AU2102171989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Feb 89 p

[Statement to journalists by Leszek Miller, cochairman of the roundtable youth affairs team and PZPR Central Committee secretary, following the meeting of this team on 16 February]

[Text] During the preliminary discussion, certain points in common were evident. We do not think anyone wants to preserve the status quo. We think it is necessary to alter our reality. We also reached the conclusion that no party to these talks represents all young people, and no one claims to have a monopoly in representing this milieu. We wish to discuss the future together, because we are going to spend the rest of our lives in the future.

However, differences arose. We believe the problem of organizational pluralism is indeed important, but it needs to be applied to the more important issues that involve the social situation and existence of the young generation, their start in life, and their participation in the authorities. In a word, one must see young people's problems in a broader context, and against this background perceive the possibilities of freedom of association. We made a list of problems, and formulated a preliminary stance. I think we are in a position to discuss these matters in the next few days.

List of Members of Roundtable Ecology Team

AU2002122589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—The composition of the roundtable ecology team is as follows:

Krzysztof Andrzejczyk, Roman Andrzejewski, Gustaw Boksz czanin, Ryszard Gajert, Radoslaw Gawlik, Boleslaw Gendek, Boguslaw Golab, Bozena Hager - Majecka, Stefania Hejmanowska, Andrzej Hrynkiewicz, Stanislaw Juchnowicz, Jan Juda, Rafal Kasprzyk, Andrzej Kassenberg, Wojciech Klossowski, Ryszard Kostrzewa, Waclaw Kulczynski, Jerzy Kwiatkowski, Wlodzimierz Lubanski, Michal Markowicz, Jan Mazurkiewicz, Aureliusz Miklaszewski, Zygmunt Polanski, Marek Roman, Stanislaw Sitnicki, Zbigniew Wierzbicki, Michal Wilczynski, and Waldemar Zukowski.

Sociopolitical Body Views Roundtable Reaction

AU2102184789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee Met"]

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee met on 17 February, under the chairmanship of Aleksander Kwasniewski.

First of all, A. Kwasniewski read a report on the talks of the "roundtable" teams and subteams.

Janusz Roszkowski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, presented the results of a survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center. This survey asked people how they thought the "roundtable" would end. Some 62 percent of respondents said there would be an accord between the authorities and the opposition, and 17 percent there would not. The survey also asked about the legalization of "Solidarity." Some 36 percent spoke out in favor of it, and 42 percent said that this legalization should be dependent upon "Solidarity's" acceptance of the chief demands put forth to "Solidarity" by the authorities. To the question what conditions should a legalized "Solidarity" fulfill, 90 percent of the respondents said that it should devote itself to efficient and productive work, and 58 percent said it should refrain from organizing illegal strikes and demonstrations. The survey also addressed the country's economic situation. Some 95 percent of respondents thought the economic situation is very difficult, 60 percent said that the shortage of goods on the market can be felt more acutely than a shortage of money, and 29 percent said that material conditions will improve within the next 3 years.

However, the main subject of the talks was draft changes to the penal code and misdemeanor code, presented by Justice Minister Lukasz Balcer and Professor Jerzy Bafia. The proposed path of changes is harmonious with the democratization of life in our country, the provisions of the reform, and the international commitments adopted by Poland. The changes to both these spheres of law are in response to the need to increase society's sovereignty and expand civil rights and liberties. [passage omitted]

The committee also heard a report on the state of work on the Associations Act.

Catholic Weekly Queries Solidarity's Mazowiecki

AU2002181489 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 12 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Solidarity official, by Roman Graczyk: "There Must Be a Restructuring of the System"—6 February, place not given]

[Excerpts] Graczyk: The "roundtable" made history before it even started. The difficulties were caused by each side's different approach toward the talks. At last the authorities have issued the "declaration of intent" which "Solidarity" expected, and the talks are starting today. Do you think that the authorities have altered their philosophy vis-a-vis the opposition and their attitude toward talks with it?

Mazowiecki: I think the Rubicon has been crossed. That is clear from the PZPR plenum stance on political and trade union pluralism. The talks will reveal whether or not this is a permanent change. I still see differences between each side's approach toward the talks. We are concerned with a fundamental change, a restructuring of life. At the "roundtable," we want to create a new situation for society. [passage omitted]

Graczyk: "Solidarity's" involvement in all possible conflicts in 1981 earned it a reputation as an anarchical movement. Regardless of the justification for this view, it must be admitted that the authorities are scared of a repetition of 1981, and believe that the model of a trade union that involves itself in every single major issue in the country is distorted. What has to be done in order to put this model back into shape?

Mazowiecki: At that time, "Solidarity" was the natural focus of all the hopes and expectations of a society that had been deprived of sovereignty for decades. "Solidarity" was not an element of pluralism then; it existed instead of pluralism. Everything important was concealed beneath that great umbrella. But it need not be like that, and it will not be like that if other possibilities are created. I have in mind the possibility of associating oneself for the sake of other objectives, not just trade union ones. That is a fundamental issue. We must all realize that pluralism will be a difficult process, requiring an ability by each side, including us, to behave properly in the new situation. We have been fighting for and are still fighting for pluralism, and at last the possibility of implementing it is appearing, we hope.

Graczyk: I hope that this new, as yet unknown situation may arise. Thank you very much for the talk.

Forensics Team Verdict on Death of Priest

AU2102170189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Concerning the Death of Father Niedzielak"]

[Text] The Warsaw Voivodship prosecutor reports that the Forensic Medicine Establishment of the Warsaw Medical Academy has issued a verdict on the death of Father Niedzielak.

As a result of numerous painstaking tests, including pathological and toxicological ones, and involving the application of chromatography and spectrophotometry, the forensic team is of the opinion that the direct cause of death was an injury to the spine, which caused a tumor of the spinal cord and brain. No signs of a hemorrhage were detected in the neck. This type of damage to the spine occurs when the head is tilted violently backwards. The tests exclude the possibility of death being the result of drugs or liquor.

Not all biological, chemical, and dactylographic tests have been completed. These are being conducted by the Criminal Investigation Department of the Citizens Militia.

A total of 101 witnesses have been questioned so far. The investigations are continuing.

Orzechowski Meets With PZPR Worker-Activists

LD0902211589 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Wroclaw, Feb 9—A working place is and should remain the basic sphere of the PUWP operation, is a conclusion formulated by participants in a meeting of PUWP workers' activists held here today.

Over 300 first secretaries of factory committees from the biggest plants and PUWP town and rural district committees of the Jelenia Gora, Legnica, Walbrzych, Wroclaw, Lodz, Sieradz and the Kalisz voivodships took part in the meeting. PUWP CC Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski took part in the conference.

The discussion covered such problems as attainments of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum, the strategy of national agreement and the idea of the "roundtable."

The debaters pointed out that many PUWP members got confused in a complex political period. Party groups stopped operating in many factories and many trade unionists experience trade union pluralism as a shock.

Taking part in the discussion, Orzechowski said that the conference was held when mutual exchange of views within the party leadership was of a particular significance.

The party's condition and effectiveness of action are the most important questions for the PUWP, the CC secretary stressed. The most important thing is that the resolution of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum should not remain on paper and we should not focus our entire energy on discussion but mobilize all forces to implement historic decisions.

'Transcript' of Urban's 14 Feb News Conference

AU1802170589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 6

["Transcript" of news conference given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 14 February]

[Text] Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban began his weekly meeting with journalists on 14 February with several comments relating to the government's viewpoint on events in the country.

The pace of events is leaving us short of breath. So I would like to set out the government's viewpoint with regard to what is currently taking place, to somehow put things in order.

First, we are experiencing the profoundest change in relations in Poland since 1944. That is the way history will judge what is happening. The reforms that were launched in 1982 as a result of the worker protests in 1980 have entered a radical phase. In the fall of last year and at the beginning of this year we effected a concentrated change in the economic model. A fundamental change of political direction was gradually maturing in the party and the 10th plenum added the finishing touches to it. It announced that we are striving toward full representative democracy and pluralism, with the participation of legal opposition in political and state life. The "roundtable" is a product and a consequence of this breakthrough.

We expect our partners at the "roundtable" to recognize these facts, as well as the role of the party and state leadership in bringing them about. Our partners at the "roundtable," the opposition, think all too often that what has been accomplished without them so far does not count. They often talk as if almost nothing has happened or been happening in Poland, and as if they were the ones who, at the "roundtable," were the first to initiate Poland's break with the so-called post-Stalinist model of government. This puts strains on partner-like relations with the opposition in reaching agreement about the way in which events should develop further.

Second, the "roundtable" exposed the average Pole to a deafening barrage of words: speeches, statements, and explanations. It is increasingly difficult to understand who is speaking, what is being said, and what is the point of what is being said.

The situation is as follows: The authorities have proposed solutions in the form of a single package. Only if a framework agreement is concluded on cooperation in extricating Poland from economic difficulties and on gradual political changes, including the organization of non-confrontational elections, would it be possible for legal trade union pluralism and expanded political pluralism to perform their constructive role.

Our partners sometimes express things in the opposite way: Solidarity and opposition groups should be legalized first of all, and only then could a possible agreement be reached on other issues.

We resolutely stress the following: We have to accomplish all of this simultaneously, as a two-way process. Otherwise the same situation would arise as in 1981. Without the participation of the opposition in political and parliamentary life, Solidarity activity could once again become a form of confrontational political action.

We have to draw conclusions from bad experiences and organize everything wisely. Thus, what is going on at the "roundtable" is a struggle over the package form of agreement and its overall scope.

Third, in their numerous interviews and statements, some of our "roundtable" partners have put things to us in the following way: We want to strangle you, but we understand that this cannot be done at once and we are prepared to strangle the socialist left one stage at a time.

We are grateful for the frankness, but we suggest a change in political aspirations.

Both we and the opposition have similar views on the direction of the changes that must be instituted in Poland. So, we are talking about cooperation between all forces that support radical, albeit gradual reforms. We propose a limited, although it is true to say that it will be full of controversies, alliance for the good of the country. Most of society is not dreaming of further struggles to determine who is going to strangle whom.

It is already the case that there are none of the kinds of divisions between us that might force us into another confrontation.

Fourth, it concerns us that we have not been hearing all that much that is new from our partners. Something that also happens is that many of our plans are lifted from our programs and portrayed as opposition demands. A lot of 1981 slogans are being revived and they are also being voiced in the style of 1981. To be frank, our partners are proposing that we consume programs that seem to have come out of cans whose expiration dates have expired. We are living in different times, socialism is at a different stage from the one it was at in 1981. We call on our partners to move with the times, and see things as they really are in 1989.

Fifth and last, stop pushing us up against a wall. We are putting forward a program of such bold and far-reaching changes and proposing that they be implemented at such a rate that pressuring us from all sides may turn out to be a piece of adventurism that will wreck the chance of agreement. Applying pressure is an old habit that has already produced bad results on one occasion. The future of Poland, and not just of Poland, is at stake. A sense of historical responsibility should outweigh various prejudices and habits of engaging in carbon-copy conspiracies.

And one more small warning. Do not tell us that you represent society. Society is politically diverse and divided. We also said for years that we represented all of society, but we now see this as one of the symptoms of Stalinism and a manifestation of wishful thinking.

Please do not take offense at having us teach you. These are merely thoughts. You teach us too. We bear this patiently, because personal ambitions are not the most important thing at present.

Premier Rakowski's visit to Paris began today. It has been prompted by the opening of the Polish-French Trade and Industry Chamber. It is an unofficial visit, but will be used for political talks. Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski will be received by President Francois Mitterrand and will hold talks with Premier Rocard. He will receive Minister Dumas, the minister of foreign affairs, at our embassy. In addition, he will meet the leaders of the main political parties and former President d'Estaing.

I see that the visit has aroused a lot of interest in the press. The premier has already given an interview to French Television. It is also envisaged that the premier will speak to radio and television and hold a news conference in Paris. The visit reflects the rapid rate at which relations are improving and suggests that this trend will continue.

In recent years, the state of Polish-French relations has not been the best. One could describe it as a case of "unrequited" love. It seemed that relations would change for the better following Wojciech Jaruzelski's unofficial visit to President Mitterrand. However, the arrangement of forces within France minimized its effects. I would like to stress that President Mitterrand's attitude at the time—he came in for criticism for the Elysee Palace meeting—turned out to be far-sighted and I think that the premier's current visit will a give a great new impetus to cooperation with what is now our seventh-largest, but was formerly our second-largest trading partner in the West.

Incidentally, in connection with Premier Rakowski's trip to Paris, I would like to provide an explanation for something stemming from what was said in the premier's interview for the French press. Janusz Onyszkiewicz asked me to explain what Premier Rakowski meant by saying that he is still against the relegalization of Solidarity as such, but that he is in favor of the emergence of a new Solidarity union that will break with its past.

I can explain that the premier said he is opposed to the relegalization of Solidarity and that everything else accords with what was actually said during the interview.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET: Mr Minister, I have two questions. First, in an article for RZECZPOSPOLITA, Mr Ryszard Wojna said that 1 year ago Polish experts sent Soviet experts a report on the Katyn crime and Stalin's crimes in general. They have still to receive a reply. I think that Poles should be informed about these matters. I would like to ask if the government intends to do anything to speed up the way in which this matter is being dealt with?

Urban: There is nothing new about this. We reported a long time ago that we supplied the Soviet members of the joint historians commission with documents concerning the Katyn crime, and we also think that the investigation is taking too long. We support the initial agreement, that is, that this issue requires investigation by both sides, and I think that what Ryszard Wojna wrote is intended, in a sense, to act as a spur to more activity and that this is justified, as Polish society also thinks this work is proceeding rather ponderously.

[Hoviseppa] At a Solidarity news conference held yesterday, Mr Mieczyslaw Gil charged that you provided false information on a strike at the Nowa Huta Steelworks. Could you comment on this?

Urban: There has been a misunderstanding. I talked about a slowdown [strajk wloski]. This means that work is performed more slowly and there is a corresponding decline in output. Seemingly, Mr Gil is not familiar with this expression and simply seized on the word strike, and in a literal sense there was no strike at Nowa Huta. However, it is a fact that there was a slowdown.

Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Television News: What is the government's assessment of the current strike situation, and what does it forecast in this respect? That is to say, what is going to happen?

Urban: Today, a strike is taking place at the Municipal Transportation Enterprise in Piotrkow Tyrbunalski. Yesterday there were 16 work stoppages mainly in smaller plants. Generally, only part of the work force at a plant stops work.

The strikes have a purely economic character and not a political one. This was stressed by the strike committee at the Laziska Steelworks where a strike ended yesterday. The strike committee did not want to have experts, advisers, and arbitrators join it. No organized union forces or political groups have organized the strikes and generally they have no influence on their course. The strike committees are made of unionists drawn from various tendencies who have a variety of organizational connections, as well as of people who have no such affiliations. I do not exclude the possibility of there being deeper sources of encouragement to strike from outside a plant—they may be very diverse—that are difficult to detect.

We are registering a further increase in demands in the country. The demands are generally for high wage raises and are linked to calls for the increase in prices and inflation to be curbed. Price increases and inflation are usually cited as the reason for wage demands, but there is less of an understanding of the fact that an increase in wages that is excessive in relation to production automatically causes inflation to rise. The pressure for higher wages and strikes in particular spark a chain reaction, and demands are then issued in related workplaces.

So there are two currents in the events that are taking place in Poland: There are wage demands and occasional wage-related strikes, and the "roundtable." If there is a significant increase in spontaneous developments that have an economic basis, this may have a destabilizing effect that would reduce the significance of efforts to reach agreement at the "roundtable," and even shift the balance with respect to the course of events resulting in possible political agreements becoming of marginal importance compared with life in the country as a whole.

In a word, economic discontent might overwhelm and wreck the process of finding a political compromise. However, this is only a potential danger. The government is viewing the wage conflicts calmly. Vice Premier Sekula spoke about this on television yesterday. This is because we believe that the free play of forces that is emerging in the economy will lead to an intensification of plant disputes in a natural fashion. The government is maintaining a firm line in this respect. Let managers and employee self-management bodies decide what they can afford. The government will not provide any assistance. If they cut away at the economic foundation of an enterprise, the enterprise's bank will certainly respond and this will have a further effect on the enterprise, its well-being and even its existence, and this will have a negative impact on the work force's material interests.

Janina Jankowska, Lech Walesa's Press Bureau: You used the expression "pushing us up against the wall." It is an expression that we have been very familiar with since 1981 and one that is often misused. Could you tell us what you mean in terms of actual facts and which specific proposals made by the Solidarity-opposition side at the "roundtable" this refers to?

Urban: I am thinking of, for example, the proposal that the defense budget and the budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs be reduced by 20 percent. This suggestion comes at a time when—as we have reported—these two budgets are being reduced and being made very economy conscious. This suggestion has a political character, because it is not a question of sums that are of fundamental importance for the economic situation of the country, but, more importantly, it is representative of the escalation of political demands that has marked efforts to destabilize the state and its organs in 1981. We are proposing a different philosophy. Our idea is based on participation in state life, participation in parliament and then the expression of views, the submission of suggestions, and parliamentary control over state structures. Our vision is one of creating a state and not of striving to weaken the state, which is our common good, regardless of what criticism can be made of the actual functioning of state, the law, and its institutions today.

Boguslaw Turek, UP: There is also a Solidarity proposal that wages should automatically increase in line with inflation. This would be of capital importance for ending the current wave of strikes. What do you think about this proposal?

Urban: We asked for the proposal to be worked out more extensively and in greater detail. The proposal concerns so-called price and wage indexation, which requires very serious consideration and the holding of talks based on very concrete proposals. The government has proposed holding partner-like discussions on relations between wages and prices and the standard of living and on ways of determining relations between prices and wages by way of setting up a participation commission. Unfortunately, the trade unions had reservations about the idea and only wanted observer status. We would be prepared to establish a commission of this kind and would willingly consider increasing the composition of its membership and to consider ways in which this should be done. This is because the issue is not straightforward. Generally, making wage levels dependent on the rate of inflation, simply tying wages to the rate at which prices increase would produce a mechanism that would automatically boost inflation and have a leveling effect on wages, and this is something that we are all opposed to. So what is required is a more sophisticated concept. Of course, we are ready to discuss this subject: It is a key issue.

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: Why does the premier need special powers with respect to voivodas, mayors, directors, and enterprises themselves—an appropriate draft law is being considered by the Sejm—as experience shows that the use of extraordinary powers has produced mediocre results. It is true that the deputy spokesman spoke about the government's intentions yesterday, but I would like a more extensive explanation, especially in view of the importance of the issue.

Urban: This is a completely different law. It is not one that is meant to provide disciplinary measures or sanctions. The aim of the law is to stimulate activity in the economy and to open closed doors.

The draft law essentially provides the government with powers to conduct economic experiments, to establish free economic zones, to dissolve associations, and to limit controls to results.

The need to create special opportunities for conducting economic experiments stems from the fact that not all the economy is proceeding at the same pace and that there is a need to test various solutions and thus to allow certain enterprises to engage in unconventional activities. The legal form that experiments will take will be that of an agreement between an enterprise and the relevant minister. In addition, if the law is passed, the government will have the right to close down or merge enterprises and dismiss directors.

These powers are needed because normal bankruptcy procedures last a long time and in certain glaring cases this may entail even higher social costs. The government intends to practice restraint in using this power. It will employ it in extreme cases of inefficiency and for environmental protection reasons.

The dismissal of directors is limited to cases in which a director violates legal principles governing the fixing of prices and wages.

However, the law does not provide for special powers with respect to voivodas and mayors.

Gemma Aizpitare, EFE: Mr Minister, could you tell us how many strikes have taken place this month so far? How does this compare in percentage terms with the same period in January?

Urban: I do not have any figures. I assume that I will have the figures toward the end of the month. I gave the figures for January, but it is difficult to compare part of this month with the whole of the previous month. However, we can see that there has been an increase—perhaps not in the number of strikes, and I do not have figures for them—but in various forms of pressure for higher wages.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: Would you care to comment on the OPZZ' position at the "roundtable," if only in light of yesterday's statement by Martyniuk?

Urban: It is nothing new that the views of the government and the OPZZ differ on a great many matters, and this is quite natural. However, I do not know to what statement by Martyniuk you are referring. So I do not know what precisely I should express an opinion on.

[Kucharski] The statement made yesterday during the the program "On the 'Roundtable'" concerning the economic "table" session, on indexation, and, there were some hints at the end of the statement on what is happening generally?

Urban: It embarasses me greatly to have to say this, but I have so much work to do that I probably watch less television than you do, and I am not familiar with this statement.

Stanislaw Lopuszanski, INTERPRESS: Mr Minister, is it true that radio programs in Polish are to be broadcast in Belorussia?

Urban: Yes, that is true. On 21 February Radio Grodno will start broadcasting its first programs in Polish.

Janina Jankowska: I am very sorry, but I would like to return to the first question, because I found the answer somewhat unsatisfactory. The proposal to cutback on the budgets of the ministries that you talked about was made in the context of the economic debate during which ways of eliminating inflation were being sought. This was one of the proposals that was made. However, the answer that you gave me put things in a political context and, as far as I know, what you told me is also accepted by the Solidarity-opposition side. That is to say, this attempt to find a solution, this entire, I would say, general political context surely constitutes a common element, our common basis. Does this mean that some of what goes on at an economic forum, some of the searches for solutions already have a political dimension and are, in a sense, subject to limitations? This is not to mention the fact that it is a question of a solution that would cause as little hardship to the population as possible, that is, a solution based on budget cutbacks in various ministries, with the exception of education and culture, which is what the press spokesman, the OPZZ press spokesman, said was the Solidarity proposal in a way that distorted things.

Urban: Despite the economic character of the context and the nature of the team session at which the proposal was made, I think that the proposal was a political one, because similar proposals made during 1981 had this kind of political character. What I was saying did not refer specifically to the economic team, but to the whole range of events at the "roundtable" and connected with it, that is, to statements and interviews. I was describing very general phenomena. I hope you find this answer satisfactory in view of the fact that we cannot act as a substitute for the "roundtable" here. I simply describe the government's position in reply to the questions that are asked, and this is not the place to which negotiations should be moved, especially since neither of us has a mandate to negotiate. However, it pleases me that you, as a person who is close to one of the sides represented at the "roundtable", have said that pushing us up against the wall is something that you would like to repudiate.

Andrzej Najmrocki, Polish Radio: Most of the questions asked in this hall are asked from the viewpoint of the city dweller. Yesterday, at a meeting between farmers and Sejm Marshal Malinowski, farmers called for a market economy in agriculture and the food industry. I can imagine what would happen if the farmers' demand was not met in the current situation where there are strikes and an atmosphere of tension. What is the likelihood of the demands being met?

Urban: This is a difficult matter. It was also discussed by the "roundtable" economic team. That is to say, the question of ending the rationing of meat was discussed as the most critical point in introducing market mechanisms into trade in foodstuffs. Farmers want a free market for agricultural produce to come into existence as quickly as possible. Essentially, an important number of city dwellers view these proposals with a certain amount of trepidation. Although they believe that the proposals represent moves in the right direction, they are afraid, and rightly so, that they will entail a significant increase in prices of foodstuffs. The government proposes gradual moves toward this and that is what it is doing. That is to say, the government recognizes that we want to have a market based on supply and demand and normal market phenomena, but at the same time, we support the continued existence of subsidies for certain basic foodstuffs. This policy has manifested itself in, for example, higher prices for certain dairy products apart from milk and curds, which are popular and widely consumed. They have not become more expensive, because they are a basic foodstuff for lower income groups. In the middle of this year we would like to try to move away from the rationing of the sale of meat if the supply of meat permits this and to do so by way of a compensation system. This will be possible if we obtain public approval, because this is something that we will just start to look for by submitting concrete proposals. Besides, various concepts are being discussed. This will be a further step, a decisive one, toward a free market in agricultural produce, toward a market that is already proving itself in certain areas where it already exists and is also proving itself in the sense that free market prices are not growing in leaps and bounds. If a free market is backed up by a good supply-oriented policy, if supply becomes abundant and there is the competition that this entails, then price levels do not rise rapidly. So our policy in this respect is based on listening to what various sides have to say, so that, on the one hand, we move toward a market economy and, on the other hand, we do so at a rate and manner that means that there is public support.

Evelia Maitret, the SA Television Network, Mexico: I have two questions. First, I would like to ask you to comment on the latest news about the plan to end the rationing of meat. How would the plan be ultimately implemented? My second question concerns what comments the Polish Government has to make on the decisions that were made and the talks that were held at the recent convention of the Hungarian Socialist Party on the introduction of a multiparty system in Hungary.

Urban: At the moment I cannot describe plans concerning ways in which we can end the rationing of meat. Discussions and work are still in progress in the appropriate government organs. There are various options, but I do not know which one of them will be ultimately presented to public opinion. So I would not like to cause any confusion by reporting on plans that have not been adopted by the government yet and are still of rather a loose kind.

I have described the essence of the plans. It is a question of trying not to bring about a deterioration in anyone's material situation and of trying not to lessen anyone's sense of social security, of trying not to force solutions on people and trying not to take people by surprise.

Changes are taking place in Hungary that are similar to the changes that are being instituted in Poland in many respects. There are also many aspects of these changes that are not similar. This is natural, because the economic, social, and political situation is different in our two countries. I see no reason to comment on the debate on a multiparty system that is taking place in Hungary. After all, the debate is essentially similar to our debate on political pluralism, which, according to our projections, will gradually evolve in the direction of increasingly higher forms for the organization of those entities that will come into being as a result of pluralism.

Leszek Sajdak, PAP: What is the government's position on the events that are taking place in Afghanistan?

Urban: We find the news from Afghanistan deeply disturbing. It indicates that the conflict is becoming more intense and that there is a growing danger that a bloody civil war will erupt.

The last Soviet units left Afghanistan today in accordance with the terms of the Geneva accords. The USSR has discharged its obligations stemming from Geneva, but this is not being accompanied by similar steps on the part of the opposition, which, in seeking to take over power, has intensified its blockade of Kabul and other towns and in doing so has condemned the population to hunger and suffering. There is a shortage of basic commodities in Kabul, especially of fuel and foodstuffs. The city is being shelled, and people are killed and wounded every day, including women and children. The amount of destruction being caused is increasing.

The Polish Government supports the strict implementation of the Geneva accords by all sides involved in the conflict, including external forces. As we know, the Afghan Government, headed by Najibullah, has displayed goodwill and a readiness to engage in dialogue and resolve the conflict by way of national reconciliation. This lies in the interests of the Afghans themselves, all the states in the regions, and the cause of world peace.

Jerzy Jachowicz, Lech Walesa's Press Office: Mr Minister, in the introduction to today's news conference you shared a certain secret with us. That is to say, you assumed that there is a high probability that the recent strikes have been inspired by external elements. I would like to dwell on this point briefly. Would you like to explain what you mean by this? Are you thinking of some private individuals or of people connected with certain institutions? If they are connected with institutions, then what institutions do you mean, and what do these external elements want to achieve?

Urban: I said quite the opposite from what you are suggesting in your question. I said that these are economic and not political strikes, and we do not believe that they are being inspired by some external forces or organizations. However, I qualified this by saying that if one were to look at the matter more closely, there is a possibility that some external influence may be at work. I was simply being cautious in view of experience and the knowledge that nothing in Poland occurs in complete isolation.

[Jachowicz] You said that the authorities themselves are reducing expenditure on defense. At the same time, you say that similar proposals made by Solidarity have a confrontational character. How you can reconcile the one statement with the other?

Urban: I do not think that discussing budget reductions in itself is something confrontational. However, I think that there is a very clear political edge to the statement that the economic situation could be improved by effecting a 20 percent cutback in the budgets of these two ministries, which are pillars of the state, because it represents a return to similar demands made in 1981 by the very same forces and people, demands that were clearly a part of the political argument at that time.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Did I understand Minister Wilczek correctly yesterday? He said that the government is only now going to reduce subsidies for meat and other food commodities. Following the "roundtable" news conference yesterday, he said in this very hall that meat subsidies and ration coupons are not going to be abolished until later in the year. What about other food commodities?

Urban: We want to gear the meat trade to market principles this year, but that does not mean abolishing meat subsidies. Or, to be more exact, it does not mean a formal abolition of meat subsidies. Imagine a meat ration coupon to be a form of subsidizing meat consumption. If these coupons are abolished, people will receive the cash equivalent, and then it is not meat consumption that will be subsidized, but food consumption in general. However, meat itself is being liberated from these artificial barriers. What Minister Wilczek meant was the reduction or elimination of subsidies to the price of meat itself. However, I wish to make it clear that all the concepts currently in circulation are aimed at preventing the abolition of meat rationing from having a negative effect on people in a worse material situation. We are simply trying to reduce subsidies and make them more expedient, in other words we want to protect the prices of the most needed food commodities. However, we foresee that food prices will increase by about 15 percent, and we also foresee that the wages rises this year will be an instrument preventing a deterioration in society's nutrition.

Marek Cajner, BBC Polish Section: I have two questions. First I would like to return to an earlier question about last week's strike at the Nowa Huta steelworks. Last week you said that one of the largest furnaces in this steelworks was shut down because of the strike. "Solidarity" admits that it was shut down, but the reason was a long-overdue overhaul. Could you explain?

Urban: I cannot remember if I said that or not. It is possible that the furnace was shut down for other reasons. However, it is true that the output of these furnaces has fallen as a result of the strike. The production of coke has been reduced, for example, and other negative effects of reduced output have occurred.

Cajner: Minister Wilczek said yesterday that the national economic consolidation plan is a fact. In that case, what is the economic mini-roundtable going to discuss?

Urban: It is of course going to discuss the economic consolidation plan, which is but an outline of economic policy. We are fully open toward discussions about this plan as a whole and about specific problems contained therein. Let me interpret what Minister Wilczek said as follows: We cannot suspend the economic reform until the outcome of the "roundtable" is known. That would not only go against the wishes of society to reform the economy as quickly as possible, but would be downright impossible, for economic processes are continuous and interdependent. Once laws are introduced, they function whether one likes it or not. There are certain economic processes occurring. Everything is still taking shape. However, we are open to discussions, suggestions, and modifications. We are open to any better solution, should the talks make it plain that it really is a better solution. We are quite simply in a situation where we want to talk and modify things, but we do not want to suspend the reform.

John Daniszewski, AP: I have two questions, the first of which refers to an earlier one about the Wojna article. You did answer the question, but I was unable to conclude from it whether or not the government supports Wojna's suggestion to publish the results of the investigations of Polish experts before the response of Soviet historians to this report is known.

Urban: We think it would be useful, but we want to achieve a consensus in this sphere. We want to talk a little more, and not make any one-sided moves. We agreed that we would investigate the history of Polish-Soviet relations together.

Daniszewski: Getting back to the "roundtable," you said something about the government being forced up against a wall, and that sounded highly negative. Your colleague's remark yesterday was in a similar vein. Does that mean that the "roundtable" will take longer than the 4-6 weeks originally planned, and could you tell us whether the government is inclined to be pessimistic vis-a-vis the outcome?

Urban: First, please do not interpret my remarks as negative ones. What is happening is that press spokesmen are expressing their opinions on the "roundtable," and I think what I said possessed a constructive tone. There is no reason for pessimism. Let me quote Professor Reykowski, who is deputy chairman of the political reform mini-roundtable. He said that nothing has happened this week that would indicate that an accord is impossible. Walesa said that he is a greater optimist now than he was before the "roundtable." I myself express cautious optimism. However, right now it is difficult to say whether or not the talks will be extended. It will not be a misfortune if they are extended a little.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: How much longer are the investigations into the death of Father Niedzielak going to last? The prosecutor's office said 3 weeks. Three weeks have gone by. Has anything new been established?

Urban: No. There is no news. These investigations are continuing, I do not know why. I have no idea.

Urban 21 Feb News Conference Reported

LD2102180789 Warsaw PAP in English
1550 GMT 21 Feb 89

[By Leszek Kubiak, Janusz Dworecki]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—Minister Urban's statement concerning the roundtable, an assessment of the OPZZ position, price hikes, comment on the dicussion in Poland over the Katyn question, the proposed introduction of presidency, the emission of bonds, assessment of the Catholic Church's role in getting the roundtable to take place, the party of labour, position on death sentence on Salman Rushdie, wages increase in the army—these were the main subjects referred to by government spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban at his weekly press conference for Polish and foreign journalists here today.

Statement

To begin the conference Minister Urban made a statement in which he said, among other things:

Public opinion grows impatient. An opinion spreads that the roundtable prolongs, everybody speaks a lot but one can hardly see the work on settling the most important matters: improvement of the material living conditions in Poland.

I must make it clear that the roundtable talks should not be exepcted to cause immediate improvement of the economic situation. Prior to the start of the roundtable talks, the government pursuing the political will of the PUWP and the other parties, initiated an essential change of the legal and economic conditions of management. By this we have created an economic basis also for extensive political reforms and considerable freedom for the enterprises to act in a reasonable way. The enterprises must now take advantage of the new possibilities. Better living conditions can be earned only in enterprises, not at the roundtable.

Strikes and pay demands prove, however, that public emotions are concentrated on questions of dividing what has often not even been produced. Improving the material product division methods will not change the general conditions of life. Mechanisms of the reform must bring about more and better goods to be distributed.

I do not share the opinion that the roundtable talks are nor marked by sufficient progress. An agreement emerged as to the principle that the coming elections will be more democratic than before, but non-confrontational. Assumptions for a quick introduction of trade union pluralism and creation of solidarnosc were also worked out. Views were brought closer together as to the initial phase of materializing broad political pluralism.

The rountable revealed the absence of the hitherto fundamental divergence between the authorities and the opposition as to the fact of our striving for a full, representative democracy based on a parliament reflecting the alignment of forces, freely elected people's councils, on an increasingly upgraded form of political structures of various orientations which act legally and respect legalism. Life is to be based on law, with an amended constitution in the lead, on citizens' freedom and human rights.

This fundamental change in the formula of socialism in Poland requires time, a gradual character of transformations. On this all the participants in the rountable also agree. However, the opposition aims for those systemic changes coming as soon as possible and being very radical. The ruling coalition now bears real responsibility for the Polish state and that is why, at the rountable, it constitutes the factor which opts for step-by-step measures.

We are opposed to galloping to unknown destinations not because we fear the future or because we want to defend every single piece of our authority. We want to protect the country and all Poles from chaos and conflicts. We want to gradually try and consolidate various aspects of pluralism and democracy before we continue along this path. Ours is not a conservative attitude. We simply want Poles to travel towards democracy at a relatively low cost. However, just like the opposition, we understand that the hitherto forms of public life and government are worn out. We have already said "A", we are saying "B", and we will also say "C".

One would be wrong in thinking that the government camp is the conservative factor at the roundtable, the opposition being the radical one. Our partners are more careful not to expose themselves to the displeasure of any sector of public opinion, whereas the government camp is the guardian of mechanisms which really though gradually lead to a change of relations. One can put it this way: the opposition now pursues more propaganda, while we pursue politics.

We think that instead of protracting talks one should strike a fundamental political deal as soon as possible. Only three per cent of the public think that none of the parties to the roundtable strives for agreement. 56 per cent think that all the sides equally seek agreement, 14 per cent claim that it is more desired by the government camp, while 15 per cent say that it is more desired by the opposition.

The majority of society comes out for the emergence of Solidarity although the number of those declaring accession has slightly dropped of late, from 32 to 29 per cent. The majority is for a legalized Solidarity living up to conditions presented at the roundtable by the ruling coalition as necessary for legalization. 90 per cent of adult Poles think that it should contribute to effective work, 72 per cent say it should strictly adhere to the Constitution, 58 per cent—that it must not organize or support illegal strikes and demonstrations. 28 per cent claim the opposite. These are the February findings by the public opinion sounding centre OBOP. They show that the majority comes out for legalism and gradualness, and also for pluralism, but against radicalism and confrontation. The majority is in favour of gradual and peaceful transformations.

The changes taking place in Poland are undermined by strikes, strike threats, and strong pay demands in many work establishments. The economic term of the roundtable seeks vindication easing measures. Strikes and demands are often organised or approved of by trade union organisations or even union federations. Although the number of strikes declines at the moment, other forms of pay pressure show a growing trend. These phenomena threaten the principles of economic game adopted for this year.

An opinion can be encountered that prices should not be increased during the roundtable conference because that irritates and reduces public optimism. However, if all the price hikes planned for this year and those previously announced were completely witheld, the shops would go empty even sooner.

The government will not alter its policy of intensively pumping reforms into the economy and sticking to the adopted rules of the economic game. [sentence as received] Bowing to the demands or starting all over again with detailed disputes over the shape of the reform would strip Poland of all the hopes for economic success. The government has no intention to bow to various pressures trying to ease contradictions, protract economic processes, and survive.

Let me explain, at last, why it so happens that when opposition representatives come out with strong demands and criticism in the television, radio, and press, the roundtable participants who represent the party and government behave moderately and placid and they talk about rather general strivings. The opposition wages a propaganda campaign to win over supporters and to show its followers that it continues to be an opposition despite making deals with the government camp.

We understand the opposition's motives. But we have a different purpose in our style of speaking: we stress with the essence and tone our strivings for agreement. We keep away from recrimination and polemics. Public opinion knows that the camp of the authorities is the initiator of real reforms and author of their real programme. The opposition strongly presents as its own the postulates previously adopted by the party and government and most of them implemented, and sometimes the opposition speaks out wishes which are now not feasible.

If, for example, our partners keep repeating on the television that they demand access to it we think that every Pole can notice they demand what they already have.

Assessment of OPZZ Stance

Asked to assess the stance of the OPZZ towards the government, Minister Urban said that the OPZZ represents a radical opposition stand vis-a-vis the government. In his answer to yet another question Urban remarked that some strikes are under the aegis of the unions, though the strike committees comprise people of diferentiated political orientation.

Price Hikes

Referring to the question about what part of price hikes is caused by central decisions and what part depends on independent producers and free market, Urban said that the plan for 1989 provides for an approximate 20 per cent price growth as of January this year. This increase includes two fifths of official prices increase and three fifths of contractual prices.

Comment on Katyn Dispute

When asked to comment on the dispute ongoing in Poland about the Katyn massacre, Minister Urban stressed the significance of publishing by the ODRODZENIE weekly of the Polish Red Cross secretary-general's report of 1943 and the article written by General Pioro in the POLITYKA weekly. Urban also informed the newsmen that the text of the report of Polish Red Cross had been earlier released to the Soviet side. Asked about the fates of the monument to the Katyn victims at one of the Warsaw's cemeteries, Urban replied that inscription and situation of the monument will be changed.

Proposal to Introduce Presidency

Asked whether the proposal of instituting the president's office in Poland is an integral part of government proposals, Urban replied that this is a negotiable question. A firm stance in this matter is represented by the SD [Democratic Party]. We treat it as a possibility, as one of the forms of cultivating systemic continuity. Our stance on this question is flexible.

Emission of Bonds

The budget bill for this year provides for feeding the budget with the sum of 40 billion zlotys obtained by sale of bonds.

The bonds would be eligible for purchase by the state treasury during, for example, a period of 3 years starting 1990. The unsold bonds would get the interest rate equal to the rate of dividend at a given year.

Evaluation of Church's Role

Asked about the role played by the Polish Catholic Church in getting the roundtable to take place, Jerzy Urban answered that the church played a prominent role in this field but has chosen the role of observer during the negotiation itself. He also voiced gratitude to the church side for help in organising the roundtable. Urban told the journalists that he had no fresh information about the death of Father Suchowolec in Bialystok, stressing however, that there is no mystery in the case and that there are no traces indicating that the death could have been caused by external interference. As for the death of Father Niedzielak Urban said that investigation continues.

Party of Labour Question

When asked to describe the government's attitude towards coming to existence of the Party of Labour, Urban said that the fact had been announced by respectable persons who have long been operating constructively. The aims chosen by the Party of Labour could be implemented on the grounds of the law on associations, he said.

Death Sentence on Rushdie

Asked about the government's outlook on the death sentence for writer Salman Rushdie Urban replied that the Polish Government is against killing authors of any kind of books.

Wages Increase in the Army

Minister Urban admitted that the Army had its wages increased similarly to other budget-financed sectors. He added that the earnings of Polish marshal is 111 thousand zlotys/month, commander of the Armed Forces—130 thousand, and major—55 thousand.

Other Questions

Asked to express public view on the way opposition is treated in Czechoslovakia, Minister Urban said there are no grounds to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. Answering another question Jerzy Urban stressed that the government is open to modifications but not to slowing down the reform processes.

Answering the question why the TV failed to present the speech of lawyer Sila-Nowicki at the inauguration of the roundtable conference, Urban replied that it was covered the next day. Nobody shows all. This is a question of the agreed extensiveness of coverage. Urban pointed out the fact that the opposition now has access to mass media.

Urban Interviewed by Lithuanian Paper
LD0702172789 Warsaw PAP in English
1605 GMT 7 feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 7—Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban during his recent trip to Moscow granted an interview to a Polish language newspaper issued in Lithuania "CZERWONY SZTANDAR" and commented on the revolutionary changes under way in Poland, particularly after the 10th PUWP CC Plenum.

"Our contacts with Soviet Lituania are constantly developing and we are very interested in their further development," Urban said.

"We observe with much sympathy the symptoms of more active social and national life in Lithuania which correspond to the aspirations of the neighbouring nation with which we had very much in common in the past and still have today. Our interest in the Polish ethnic group in Lithuania has considerably grown," Urban added.

SD Presidium on Office of Polish President
AU0602194889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1 Feb 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Meeting of the SD Presidium"]

[Excerpts] The SD Central Committee Presidium held a meeting on 31 January. [passage omitted]

The Presidium discussed a proposal to create the offices of president. It was stated that various ideas have already been discussed within the SD on the subject of a future president of the republic, but the dominating idea is that of a presidential system characterized by a strong presidential authority, which would allow the president to intervene in important state affairs while preserving the separate office of head of government intact. This system is encountered with certain modifications in the French Fifth Republic, Finland, and Portugal. The meeting indicated the need to take advantage of the good aspects of the models contained in both of Poland's prewar constitutions.

Michalek Addresses Factory Party Secretaries
LD1302215188 Warsaw PAP in English
2043 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Poznan, Feb 13—Some 200 secretaries of PUWP factory committees from eight voivodships of northwestern Poland met here today to discuss the situation of the party at workplaces and the social, political, and economic problems in the light of decisions made by the 10th PUWP CC Plenum. The meeting was attended by PUWP CC secretary and Political Bureau member Zbigniew Michalek and the Minister of Regional Planning and Construction, Bogumil Ferensztajn.

Speaking in the course of the debate, Michalek said: "We have to do with new political facts which became vivid in the decisions of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum. Yet, already the resolutions of the 9th and 10th PUWP Congresses spoke of national agreement. The fears for the party's future are understandable, especially in factories and workplaces, but we come out in favour of real humanism, democracy and we have to believe in the good intentions of the opposition for our goal is such a state which serves the whole nation."

New First Secretary Elected in Skierniewice
LD0802220689 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] During the deliberations of the party voivodship committee in Skierniewice, the first secretary to date, Leszek Miller asked to be relieved of the post in connection with his election as Central Committee secretary. Eugeniusz Goraj, previously secretary for economic affairs, was elected as the new first secretary in a secret ballot, from two candidates. He is 41 and an economist.

ZSL's Malinowski Speaks on 'National Agreement'
LD0302131889 Warsaw PAP in English
1213 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 3—In his interivew for PAP, Chaîrman of the Chief Committee of the United Peasants' Party ZSL Roman Malinowski said that "the PUWP CC 10th Plenum's resolutions, which are convergent with the ZSL's stand concerning deep socio-political and economic reforms, are a great opening towards the Polish historic compromise."

He went on:

"I expect that this year it will yield a qualitative breakthrough on the road to national agreement favoured by the ZSL as not only a party representing farmers and countryside dwellers, but also as a party which co-controls and shares responsibility for the state's fate.

"The ZSL consistently comes in favour of a broad Polish coalition of reformatory forces so that our diversity found organized forms and, through this, became a creative factor which enriches the socio-political and economic transformations in Poland.

"The ZSL is for the economic, political, social and professional pluralism. Hence, we are also for socio-professional pluralism in countryside milieux, for various forms of associations, clubs, etc., which would be set up by farmers themselves—in a nutshell: for a rich socio-political and economic infrastructure of countryside which will co-create the progress, will be conducive to cooperation and will strengthen the position of agriculture not only in the interest of countryside dwellers, but also in the interest of the whole society.

"Making for the agreement, we should get rid of emotions, particular interests and grudges. We all must care that the conditions, being created by way of dialogue, for joint deciding and sharing responsibility by all constructive forces with preserving their own identity and various socio-political options resulted in joint efforts and the actions aimed at speeding up the solution of the difficult Polish problems.

"We come out for transformations in the system of exercising rule, for strengthening the constitutional sovereignties of particular structures of our state," Malinowski concluded.

ZSL Spokesman on Agricultural Economy

LD1802105189 Warsaw PAP in English
0038 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—In a statement presented to PAP, press spokesman of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) at the roundtable debates Janusz Tarniewski said in part that the UPP consistently abides by the stand that introducing market mechanism in the food economy is the principal issue for the countryside, and an important one for the nation.

Commenting on the course of the debates of the subteam for mass media, the spokesman said that the UPP does not enjoy equal rights of access to mass media.

The process of democratization underway in this country must embrace the functioning of propaganda. The UPP is for the founding of a state information system which would be objective and would not be abused for temporary goals. This establishes a need to provide institutionalized protection which would serve social supervision of this sphere of social life. We need new order in press, radio and television, an order which will serve well the national agreement and the future of Poland.

Polish Industry Minister Wilczek Interviewed

AU0402192289 Sofia ANTENTI in Bulgarian
No 5, 1 Feb 89 p 7

[Report on interview with Mieczyslaw Wilczek, Polish minister of industry, by ANTENI correspondent Nadezhda Kabakchieva, in Warsaw: "Wilczek's Wide Range"—date not given]

[Excerpts] No 4 Wspolna Street is the address of the Ministry of Industry of Poland, a commonplace gray building in the ponderous postwar style. It was difficult to arrange this interview, but all difficulties evaporated as soon as I entered Minister Wilczek's office. I knew quite a lot about his life, his bold campaign in the economic sphere, his victories and defeats. All this created my preconception of him as a strong-willed, obstinate man, one who creates tension and is full of it himself. Minister Wilczek turned out to be a refined, well-intentioned, and calm man, who hastened, from the very start of the meeting, to show his good feelings toward me (which is understandable, because his wife, Todorka Veleva-Wilczek, is a Bulgarian).

What is the minister's schedule like today? His day is mainly devoted to problems relating to reducing the ministry's staff. Of the 700 people whom Wilczek found working in the ministry on his arrival, 350 work there today. He intends to reduce their numbers by another 100. When he took over the ministry 3 months ago, he did not flinch from thrusting his finger into the wound. The cuts at the Ministry of Industry were only a pale reflection of the purge of the bureaucracy in general (which he has undertaken). He also made up a list of 150 loss-making enterprises ("there is no logic in the state giving our money every year merely to artificially prolong the life of an unprofitable enterprise"), and started closing them down one after the other. "Some of them became alarmed and suddenly began to work well," Wilczek said with a smile. "This means they could have done so previously, but the conditions encouraged inactivity and lack of responsibility." [passage omitted]

[Kabakchieva] All the same, apart from the conflicts arising, every job cut means disturbing the fate of an individual, of a family....

[Wilczek] I started by doing away with superfluous functions in the ministry, functions that were of no help to the activities of the enterprises under its control, but rather hindered them. As a result, the people who were previously concerned with these functions also became superfluous. We considered each case individually and provided work; in the case of some people, we will help them found their own firm. I believe that, after the initial shock, many people will find a new, interesting career. [passage omitted]

[Kabakchieva] At the age of 32, Wilczek became deputy director of the famous "Polena" corporation. Here, together with his colleagues, he introduced a new type of washing powder called "Ixi," for which he received half a million zloty. [passage omitted]

When he was 37, the "insubordinate" Wilczek left "Polena" and purchased a 50-hectare plot of land near Warsaw with the money from the patent. He wanted to create at his own expense what he failed to achieve in the corporation, namely high-quality cosmetics. With his very first steps he gained a 15-year lead on the products of the time, but they closed his enterprise down. No, there were no violations, it was simply decided that the plant was not needed. After 4 years of troubles and wanderings, he returned to state work and became director of a center for chemistry for construction purposes. During his second directorship he had no illusions about successes as a manager. He developed his next patent, for the production of highly concentrated animal feed from slaughterhouse waste products. The results proved uncommonly successful. He started private production with a few dozen workers. Other private entrepreneurs also joined the feed business his idea created. Labor productivity in these enterprises is 8 to 15 times higher than in similar state enterprises. (Now, as minister, Wilczek has issued orders for the reasons for this difference to be investigated.) [passage omitted]

Do you think that you have at last found a field sufficient for your scope? As minister of industry, what basic principles will you observe?

[Wilczek] I would like to help in releasing social energy. The two recently adopted laws (on economic activity and on the activity of enterprises with foreign capital) will release many reserves. I would like us to succeed in applying decisions already tried and tested in other countries, in order to produce cheaply and in a modern way and export competitive goods, as well as to assist intelligent specialists in the state sector, whose creative zeal is being stifled by poorly thought-out legal acts. As far as private people are concerned, it is sufficient to observe the adopted law.

I do not support private property in large-scale industry—that is a job for the state. However, the small production facilities with small profits should be in private hands—everyone benefits from this. [passage omitted]

Rakowski Concludes Paris Visit, Notes Results

Meets Giscard d'Estaing

AU2102165089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 89 p 9

[PAP report: "Meeting at the PPR Embassy"]

[Text] Paris—During the afternoon of Thursday, 16 February, at the Polish Embassy in Paris, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with Valery Giscard d'Estaing, former president of France and now chairman of the Union of French Democracy and of the Foreign Affairs Commission in the National Assembly. The talk, which took place in a warm, open, and sincere atmosphere, addressed the possibilities and significance of European cooperation, as well as Poland's place and role in this cooperation. The significance of Soviet perestroyka for Europe was also discussed. It was decided that Valery Giscard d'Estaing's long-expected visit to Poland will take place this year.

In a press statement, Valery Giscard d'Estaing said that one must consider Poland's debt problems and help Poland. He said that this is one of the purposes of his visit to Poland.

Makes Press Statement

AU2002155589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 89 p 8

[PAP report: "Statement for the Press"]

[Text] Paris—In a statement for the press on 15 February, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski commented on his talks with French leaders, and underlined the excellent atmosphere of these talks and the French side's sympathy for and understanding of Polish problems.

Francois Mitterrand, said M. Rakowski, acknowledged the domestic changes in Poland and said that Poland is a "great political laboratory" today. The French president agreed that everything happening in Poland right now is important not only for Poland itself, but also for the whole of Europe.

The French president, continued M. Rakowski, said during our talks at the Elysee Palace that the French Republic is coordinating the solution of Poland's debt problems in the Paris Club, of which France is chairman, and within the EEC, the chairmanship of which France will assume on 1 July.

We did not discuss the details of these solutions, said M. Rakowski, because they were discussed by Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski last Tuesday. Besides, this will be one of the chief topics during the French president's visit to Poland. The president confirmed that he will visit Warsaw in the middle of June.

My Paris visit has convinced me that France now has a far better understanding of Polish problems and Polish solutions to these problems. My French interlocutors, in other words President Mitterrand, Premier Rocard, and Foreign Minister Dumas, expressed their desire to raise Franco-Polish relations to a new level. Francois Mitterrand believes that the "period of the 1980's," when relations between Paris and Warsaw were not particularly good, is over. The French head of state, said M. Rakowski, told me that he not only understands Poland's situation better, but as a result of the reforms in Poland, now finds it easier to put forth proposals on how to solve Poland's economic problems, because French public opinion is not opposed to him.

I myself, said M. Rakowski, rate these talks very highly. From what I heard from key representatives of France, I have the impression that we can consider the period of less than good mutual relations over. These relations are already assuming a clearly higher level. There is no doubt that this is the result of our political and economic reforms, and of my interlocutors' enthusiasm for the changes in Poland. I have been assured of France's commitment to the issue which we are mainly interested in inside the Paris Club. I am very pleased with the visit.

Welcomed Back at Warsaw Airport

AU2102145489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 89 p 9

[PAP report: "Welcome at Warsaw Airport"]

[Text] Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski arrived back in Warsaw from Paris on the evening of 16 February. He was met by Jozef Czyrek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Janusz Patorski, Ireneusz Sekula, Tadeusz Olechowski, Ernest Kucza, and Michal Janiszewski. French Ambassador Claude Harel was also present.

The premier told PAP: I assess my visit in very positive terms. However, those who have monitored the visit have the last word, because my own views and feelings are personal and subjective. Nevertheless, I think I am capable of making a proper assessment.

My talks were not only very interesting, but also confirmed my assumptions that the French leaders—I mean President Mitterrand, Premier Rocard, and other politicians—want to open up a new stage in Polish-French relations. One can say that my FRG visit and this visit constitute progress toward a revival of relations with two important, perhaps even the most important, West European countries.

Visit Reported by French Daily

PM1702152089 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Feb 89 p 6

[Francoise Crouigneau report: "Mr Rakowski Tries To Win Over Business Circles"]

[Text] Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who arrived in Paris on Tuesday 14 February, was due to open the Franco-Polish Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday before having meetings in the afternoon with Michel Rocard, his counterpart, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, and Francois Mitterrand. On Tuesday, he had talks with PSF leader Pierre Mauroy and PCF leader Georges Marchais.

Mr Rakowski, who is facing a serious economic crisis and a $36.4 billion foreign debt, is attempting to win over business circles in Paris, as he did in Bonn 3 weeks ago. But breathing new life into Franco-Polish economic relations is not an easy task.

Commercial relations are still marking time: From Fr4.1 billion in 1988, they have painfully regained their 1975 level, and French exports only equal 86 percent of Polish products imported. These relations, which were limited for a long time by the sanctions imposed when martial law was introduced in 1981, are still poisoned by the debt issue. Although French banks are relieved to see Warsaw scrupulously paying the interest it owes, the same is not true of Poland's state creditors.

Like its predecessors, the Rakowski government is arguing for constructive indulgence: The Western countries cannot demand the repayment of interest of some $3 billion per year and expect Warsaw to make a constant effort to modernize and liberalize the economy. Although over the past 4 years the country has succeeded in recording a $1 billion trade surplus—at the expense of supplies to the population—it does not intend to devote all that foreign currency to repaying the debt.

Reforms

Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski's visit to Paris on Tuesday 14 February apparently made it possible to assess the current reforms and the Polish proposals. But the time is apparently not yet right for formal agreement with Poland's state creditors and hence for an initial IMF standby credit.

However, two of these reforms, implemented since 1 January, have surprised Warsaw's partners by their clarity and boldness. On places nationalized, cooperative, mixed, and private sectors on an equal footing: They have the same taxes, the same access to credit, the same freedom to hire people, whereas private enterprises could previously not employ more than 50 people.

In another law, the government has implemented its policy of opening up to foreign investors. The candidates for such operations will be able to hold up to 100 percent of the capital if they put in a minimum of 25 million zlotys. Joint companies, which will be exempt from tax for 3 years, will then be taxed at a rate of 40 percent and not 50 percent, as was previously the case.

Will this desire to ease the burden, be enough to attract the French? They are cautious with regard to Eastern bloc countries and are only just beginning to show an interest in the USSR.

The problem of taking profits back home has not really been solved, although, on Tuesday 14 February, an agreement on mutual protection and encouragement of investment was signed by French Economy Minister Pierre Beregovoy and Mr Wroblewski, his counterpart. Finally, the eternal ambiguity remains between the Eastern bloc countries' desire to attract capital and technology and the Western investors' desire to penetrate a domestic market.

These reservations are stronger in France. Out of 52 joint companies registered in Poland since 1986, around 20 have been created with Germans, around 10 with Americans, just one with France—the Elwro 45 company formed with the 45-Organization group which manufactures software.

One fact remains: With 80 percent inflation in 1988, which the government wants to reduce to 55 percent this year, an inadequate infrastructure, largely obsolete industrial equipment, and a banking and monetary system which is still embryonic, Poland is certainly not an easy outlet.

Foreign Debt Discussed

PM2002120289 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Feb 89 p 34

["S.K." report: "Mr Mitterrand To Visit Warsaw in June"]

[Excerpt] Francois Mitterrand will make an official visit to Poland in mid-June preceded in early April by Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, French and Polish sources announced on Wednesday 15 February at the end of Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski's Paris talks.

Mr Rakowski started by arguing the Polish economy's cause at a luncheon given by the Franco-Polish Chamber of Commerce which he was opening. The Polish Government leader made no secret of the fact that the main aim of this "unofficial working" visit to Paris is to secure an understanding attitude from French leaders toward the problem of Poland's foreign debt ($36.4 billion) which his country is completely incapable of paying. Mr Rakowski now has an argument with which to assure his interlocutors of his good intentions and he is using it extensively—the roundtable which started on 6 February between government and opposition representatives and which he is putting forward as evidence of the Warsaw authorities' desire for "democratization."

After Michel Rocard and Roland Dumas, Mr Mitterrand seems to have listened carefully to the arguments put forward by Mr Rakowski, who is also a PZPR Politburo member. "I have confidence in Poland. Poland has adequate resources, especially if it overcomes its divisions," the president said and, according to Hubert Vedrine, his spokesman, he showed "great interest in what is currently happening in that country." With regard to the debt question, Mr Mitterrand assured Mr Rakowski that France "would argue Poland's case in the Paris Club and among its EEC partners."

The Polish premier was due to return to Warsaw on Thursday after giving a press conference. [passage omitted]

Rakowski Interviewed After Visit

AU2102123689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 89 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by Wlodzimierz Zralek, TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent, in Paris on 16 February: "Premier Rakowski Replies to Questions From TRYBUNA LUDU: I Am Opposed to Illusions and a Return to the Past"]

[Text] On the final day of his working visit to Paris, Premier M.F. Rakowski replied to questions from TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent. The interview appears below:

[Zralek] Comrade Premier, could you compare the course of the talks you held during this visit with the talks during your last visit to Paris, which took place about 6 months ago?

[Rakowski] The main difference is that the talks that I had in June of last year were not held at such a high level. As far the substance of talks is concerned, I think that one of the differences is that consideration of Polish affairs is no longer based on the one-sided information that has shaped Poland's image in France. I would say that whereas in the past I had to devote a lot of time to rectifying false opinions, on this occasion I had to devote the greater part of my time to describing current Polish problems.

[Zralek] For a long time now the problem that the French side would raise during talks was that of democratic freedoms and human rights. Has this been removed from the agenda now?

[Rakowski] It was simply no longer raised in the form of a complaint. However, one person I spoke to simply mentioned it as one of the problems in today's world and as an important element in cooperation between states and peoples.

[Zralek] One thing I noted in your speech to the newly formed Polish-French Chamber of Commerce and Industry was the statement about the need to base relations not on abstract feelings of love, but on realism and an understanding of mutual interests. How should this be reflected in relations between Poland and France?

[Rakowski] In our relations with France, I not only hope for mutual declarations about traditions of friendship and cooperation in the past, about Chopin and other great Poles connected with France, but concrete things, quite simply. This is the sense in which I said that I did not expect love. It is not enough just to say that the past was rich in common traditions. I think that this way of thinking that I have described was appreciated by the people to whom I spoke. For example, my meeting with Premier Rocard had a very concrete character. When I described the situation in Poland, he noted that France is also going through a period in which there are domestic tensions, a time during which very diverse views and reactions are coming to the fore. This simply has to be passed through—and this, among other things, is precisely what made the meeting a concrete exchange of views.

[Zralek] Now that prospects are emerging for a clear improvement in Polish-French relations, there is often talk of a return to the 1970's. However, the 1970's were not only period of extensive cooperation in many areas, but also one in which there were certain illusions on both sides....

[Rakowski] I am opposed to illusions and a return to the past. The world has changed since the 1970's, and Europe has changed above all. In light of this, the character of relations between Poland and the countries of Western Europe has also changed, which also applies to France. I do not consider raising relations with France to a higher level than at present to be a straightforward return to the 1970's. These are different times.

[Zralek] Before your current to visit to France, you also paid a visit to the FRG. How would you compare the state of Poland's relations with these two important Western partners?

[Rakowski] Relations with the two German states and the German people will always possess special characteristic features that will always make them different from relations with France and other Western countries. To remind you, this year will see the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, which began with the German invasion of Poland. This fact will also determine the way in which Poles view relations with other countries for decades to come. To put it quite simply, the French did not invade us. It is true that they asked the memorable question: "Why die for Gdansk?" However, at the same time, they were our allies. This was true of General de Gaulle in London and of all the French who fought in the resistance movement. Some of the people that I spoke to were connected with the resistance movement, which is undoubtedly a factor that adds a special dimensions to Polish-French relations.

[Zralek] I would like to end our conversation by returning to today's press conference. I was struck by the fact that none of the many French journalists who were present asked any questions about Solidarity. How should one view this?

[Rakowski] I think that journalists have been excessively excited over the Solidarity question for a long time. Besides, that was also true of politicians, although the latter often expressed views openly saying that they had to take account of public opinion, whereas in actual fact they had their own viewpoint, which they kept quiet about. This is now changing to a certain extent. It also surprised me that no questions were asked about Solidarity in Bonn. A realistic view of the changes that are taking place in Poland is of fundamental importance for this evolution. Now that we have started the "roundtable," which has met with recognition in Western capitals, the future of Solidarity has ceased to be such an attractive subject.

Incidentally, I would like to say that some of the people I have spoken to in the West have wondered about the extent to which union pluralism will benefit Poland. Of course, I am not going to mention any names, but I have often listened with interest to what has been said about pluralism possibly entailing certain dangers for the stability of Poland's domestic development.

Interviewed by RZECZPOSPOLITA

AU2102140389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Feb 80 pp 1, 7

[Interview in Paris with Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by RZECZPOSPOLITA's Maria Wagrowska: "Europe—Eliminating Divisions and Prejudices"—17 February]

[Text] [Wagrowska] Mr Premier, monitoring your visit to France I received the impression that your interlocutors found the domestic changes in Poland very interesting.

[Rakowski] The French side wanted to know what I thought, and this was the main reason for its interest in Polish affairs. President Mitterrand told me that because of the development of the situation in Poland, it is easier to make further progress in improving Polish-French relations, he now has greater freedom in shaping these relations, and he no longer has to fear opposition from parts of French society.

There was interest in the "roundtable," but this interest was not exaggerated. It was merely considered an interesting phenomenon. Various interlocutors of mine said that Poland has taken the lead in the restructuring of socioeconomic relations in the socialist countries, and therefore Poland's importance in Europe is growing.

That is the answer to your question in a nutshell.

[Wagrowska] But what if I asked you about the impressions you gained from talks with other Eastern and Western politicians, from Gorbachev to Mitterrand, since you came into office?

[Rakowski] Every politician I have talked to, including the two have mentioned, are following the development of the situation in Poland with interest, though of course their approach toward Poland varies.

Gorbachev's approach is full of warm sentiment and understanding for our actions and policies, and his wish is that we succeed. Therefore this is interest expressed by a friend and harbinger of perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

The attitude of Western politicians is different. They view our changes from the angle of their own interests, or rather the interests of the groups they belong to, such as the EEC. Therefore there are differences in views, depending on a leader's political outlook and on membership of this or that political or ideological camp.

Generally, however, I can say that every single politician I have spoken to so far is very interested in Poland. This is understandable, because over the past few years our country has been supplying facts that must attract the attention of politicians. But if one looks at this from a certain distance, one must say that our success, including in foreign policy, will depend on what we ourselves manage to achieve. Of course, interest in and warm feelings toward our country are important and valuable, but they are not the most important matters.

In the past few months, foreign politicians have strengthened their convictions that Poland is a country with energetic domestic development as far as changes to political and economic structures are concerned. This is paving the way toward greater cooperation with the countries of Western Europe. However, this process has really only just started, and it is difficult to say when the interest in our country will begin to express itself in concrete action. I have in mind in particular the rescheduling of our debts by the Paris Club.

[Wagrowska] I feel you are pursuing a diplomacy which I would describe as unconventional and unprecedented, a diplomacy that is in keeping with the new times in Europe. On the basis of your experience, what would you say are the qualities of such a diplomacy?

[Rakowski] I do not know if what I am doing can be assessed as highly as that. However, none of my interlocutors so far wanted to be fed with banal statements. They all wanted to hear the truth about the country I represent.

I believe the times of "all-round" diplomacy really are past. One wonders if there ever were such times, but in any case there was a school of diplomacy which involved concealing the truth and difficulties behind a facade of protocol. This kind of thinking presents no hopes whatsoever, and I think that politicians who want to earn the respect of their interlocutors and of society in general must be as honest and open as possible. In any case, scientific progress is so rapid that there is no point in hiding anything. If one of my interlocutors really is interested in the country I represent, he will already have information about Poland at his disposal before I talk to him. Thus, anyone who says "generally, everything is all right, only..." is not very credible.

I think that directness in diplomacy is a guarantee that a common language with one's interlocutors will be found. I have discovered several times that thanks to such a directness, it is possible to come to terms with one's partner.

[Wagrowska] Mr Premier, once again I would like you to refer to your long experience and tell me what you think of the development of the situation in Europe.

[Rakowski] I think that in today's Europe, we are dealing with several processes at the same time.

On the one hand, both parts of Europe are declaring a readiness to overcome their divisions. I think these are honest declarations, but nevertheless the two sides are still functioning within the constraints of their blocs and supranational organizations, which have strengthened their position in the last decades. Therefore I doubt whether it will be possible to eliminate thinking in terms of blocs in the foreseeable future.

However, over and above these two trends, there is a third trend, which I would describe as a natural tendency for Europeans to maintain a feeling of European unity, understood as a unity of culture and unity of fortunes, as a similar way of life, a similar interpretation of phenomena, and a similar recognition of certain joint values and criteria.

Therefore, I believe that the road to eliminating European divisions is the only road possible. However, it is going to take entire generations to eliminate them. There is no doubt that at present we are dealing with an attempt to boost confidence by reducing armaments. We are still at the beginning of these processes because there are still large stockpiles of mistrust, which have accumulated over entire decades.

There is yet another process. A part of Europe has embarked upon very major changes, and even upheavals, which must have a bearing on all-European accord, because they might make some Western politicians adopt a wait-and-see attitude toward us, instead of energetically involving themselves in eradicating differences.

Today's Europe is a continent in which elements of stability are intertwined with elements of instability. This is making the building of Gorbachev's "common European home" more difficult, and will continue to do so. I think that politicians who look a little further ahead should overcome the prejudices that have accumulated over the decades, and prevent new ones from occurring,

We are in a great hurry to reach this new Europe, but to a certain extent we are powerless in the face of objective phenomena and thorny historical processes. Therefore I would discourage euphoria.

When trying to define the path of Europe's future development, it is necessary to consider one more element—the fact that Europe possesses economic inequality; the fact that central and Eastern Europe are scientifically behind Western Europe. I fear this might lead to an even wider European split in an economic sense, and this of course would affect politics and interstate relations.

The fact that not even in the depths of the cold war did the two parts of Europe separate completely, and that despite East-West tensions there was no war in Europe is a cause for optimism.

Nowadays, it is significant that we are living in a Europe that is armed to the teeth, but one that is also experiencing its fifth decade of peace. We will commemorate the 50th anniversary of World War II under conditions that fail to indicate the likelihood of any nuclear conflict. In other words, despite the weapons and the blocs, Europeans are preserving a feeling of unity concerning the most important matter—peace.

[Wagrowska] Thank you for the interview, Mr Premier.

Results of Visit Viewed

AU2102145789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Feb 89 pp 1, 9

[Commentary by Wlodzimierz Zralek, TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent: "A New Climate in Relations Between Poland and France"]

[Text] Paris— From 14 through 16 February I was able to observe the course of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's working visit to Paris from close-up. The term "from close-up" is fully justified on this occasion. The head of government did not forget his origins as a journalist and provided very extensive information on the course of every one of his meetings to the permanent and special correspondents of the Polish press, as well to representatives of the French mass media. The importance of these meetings was indicated by their level and the substantive content of the talks that were held. During his 3-day visit to the French capital, Premier Rakowski met President Francois Mitterrand, Premier Michel Rocard, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas; representatives of the most influential left-wing groupings, Pierre Mauroy, first secretary of the ruling Socialist Party, and George Marchais, general secretary of the PCF Central Committee; former president V. Giscard d'Estaing, one of the right-wing opposition's leading activists; and representatives of the business and finance communities who took part in the inaugural session of the Polish-French Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

One external aspect of the visit that struck observers was the interest that accompanied it. For the first time in a long time, our embassy press department had to make selection decisions concerning the interviews that had been requested by leading French publications and French radio and television. One should also note the exceptionally high number of French journalists and foreign correspondents who attended the press conference at the end of Premier Rakowski's visit—the conference was reported in a variety of ways depending on the political attitudes of those reporting it, but there was agreement about it being an event that deserved to be widely noted.

During the press conference, Premier Rakowski said, among other things, that the talks that he had held inclined him to correct his earlier, bitter statement on the unsatisfactory state of Polish-French relations. The prospects of a clear improvement in relations is now emerging, and something that will particularly assist this is the official visit to Poland by President F. Mitterrand, which is planned for the middle of June. How should one describe this emerging prospect—a turning-point, a return to the "model cooperation" of the 1970's, or the opening of a new chapter?

I think that every one of these descriptions is in some way not completely accurate. As Premier Rakowski stressed in his statement for TRYBUNA LUDU, it is neither a question of a straightforward return to the past or of opening some completely new chapter. The description that would be the most justified would be the straightforward statement that conditions have now matured for a clearly positive evolution in relations between Paris and Warsaw. What is there to indicate that this evolution will be lasting? I would mention two factors.

First, France has lately been reassessing its foreign policy with a view to recovering its previous position in the socialist part of the continent of Europe. By force of circumstance, almost directly before Premier Rakowski's visit to Paris, President Mitterrand said on television: "I think that France cannot be absent from that part of Europe. In its conduct, I would like France to revive the traditional policy that it has pursued over the course of entire centuries."

Second, a factor pointing to a lasting trend toward a fundamental improvement in relations are the domestic changes taking place in Poland. There is recognition for and interest in these changes in France. Their effect has been that issues connected with internal freedoms and human rights, which were the subject of controversy and were also exploited for a campaign against Poland that was far from objective, have been removed from the agenda. The reports that the Polish side provided to journalists on the recognition for these changes expressed by the French hosts accorded fully with the assessments of the French side. For example, following Premier Rakowski's meeting with President Mitterrand, Hubert Vedrine, the Elysee Palace spokesman, said that the French head of state was following everything that was currently happening in Poland with enormous interest.

Premier Rakowski described these signs of an improvement in relations as "infusing new life into the Polish-French marriage." His ideas were set out in clear terms: In relations between states, a lasting and successful marriage is not based on abstract feelings, but on an understanding of mutual interests and on realism.

The state of economic cooperation—it was concluded that it does not suit the new opportunities that have been created by economic and legislative changes in Poland—and our requests concerning the "restructuring" of debt repayment were also considered against this background. The French leaders with whom the premier spoke, including President Mitterrand, assured the Polish head of government that France, which is currently chairman of the Club of Paris, is prepared to assume the role of a champion of Poland's requests. This assurance was welcomed although, in line with the openness that accompanied the course of the Paris visit, during his press conference Premier Rakowski stressed that we had been hearing similar declarations in other Western capitals for some time now and the time had now come for these declarations to assume concrete form. It was at this point that Premier Rakowski came out with a figurative comparison that is characteristic of his style, saying that it was time to change over from the "krakowiak," a dance that involves moving round in circles, to the "polonaise," a dance that involves moving forward.

Although I am not fond of using them, certain adjectives clearly spring to mind in connection with this visit: open, businesslike, and characterized by greater mutual understanding than in the past. So all in all, it was visit that was successful in terms of the future.

Miodowicz Visits Moscow; Discusses Roundtable

AU2102122389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 89 p 7

[PAP report: "Alfred Miodowicz in Moscow"]

[Text] Moscow—In response to Soviet society's enormous interest in the changes taking place in Poland, the Polish Cultural and Information Center in Moscow organized a meeting with Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, on Wednesday.

In the center's assembly hall, which was packed with people, A. Miodowicz spoke for over 2 hours about the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland and the continuing political dialogue, including the "roundtable." He said that the Polish trade unions have, in a sense, paved the way to the changes we are witnessing today. It is the trade unions, through the lips of their chairman, that initiated a vote of no confidence in the previous government at a Central Committee plenum and pushed through a Sejm motion as a result of which this government fell, said A. Miodowicz.

Speaking about relations between the trade unions and the government of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the OPZZ chairman stressed that this government is the first one to have adopted the following trade union objectives as its own: Feeding the nation, protecting health and the environment, and expanding housing construction. However, we also have clashed with this government, A. Miodowicz said. In the Sejm, we voted against one of its resolutions, but that does not mean we do not support it.

Commenting on the results of the 10th PZPR Plenum, A. Miodowicz explained why he had voted against the plenum stance on political and trade union pluralism. He stressed that the OPZZ is not against this pluralism. We were surprised at the suddenness of this stance, he said. The OPZZ continues to believe that every enterprise should have just one trade union representation, regardless of the actual number of trade unions in it.

The questions with which the audience showered A. Miodowicz reflected the great Soviet interest in Polish problems. One of the questions asked for Miodowicz's opinion about Walesa. I consider Walesa to be a realistically thinking person, A. Miodowicz replied. However, I do not know what his political ambitions are.

On the same day, Alfred Miodowicz met with Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. They discussed the place and role of the trade unions in the Polish socialist renewal and Soviet perestroyka. The chairman of the OPZZ and AUCCTU exchanged views about the forms and methods of trade union activity under normal conditions.

Makes Statement at Airport

AU2102150389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "We Conveyed Our Achievements"]

[Text] Following his arrival from Moscow on 16 February, OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz told PAP:

When, 2 months ago, I agreed to appear at the Polish Cultural and Information Center in Moscow in order to discuss the Polish trade union movement, I had no idea that the "roundtable" and the great changes in Poland would be taking place at the same time. But it is good that they are taking place, because our Soviet colleagues have been expecting them and are fully prepared for them. We conveyed our achievements in Moscow, at the seat of the Soviet trade unions, and the Soviet partners conveyed theirs. I think our Polish trade union achievements are substantial, good, interesting, and future-oriented.

Olechowski Toasts Switzerland's Felber

AU1302135889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 11

[Speech by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski at a dinner in honor of Swiss Foreign Minister Rene Felber in Warsaw on 6 February]

[Text] Esteemed minister, esteemed Mrs Felber, esteemed Swiss guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I wish to welcome you once again, Mr Minister, and your wife and entourage.

We have the honor of hosting you for the first time in our country. We welcome you as a distinguished representative of a state and people to whom Poland and the Poles are joined by numerous historical and cultural ties.

We regard your visit to Poland as an expression of the desire of both our countries to raise mutual relations to a new level.

I wish to stress that the Polish Government is firmly interested in constructive political dialogue with Switzerland, an expansion of economic cooperation, and the establishment and intensification of contacts in other spheres. We are convinced that our exchange of views and your talks in Poland will make it easier to reach a new stage in our relations. This will be of direct advantage to our countries and peoples, and will be a joint contribution toward the development of comprehensive cooperation on a European scale.

Esteemed minister, ladies and gentlemen. The historical and cultural ties that I mentioned before are a permanent basis for the present and future of our economic relations.

We never forget that during the partitions, very many Poles who left their enslaved country found shelter in Switzerland, together with the possibility of work and education. Many of them have gone down in the history of both countries. Tadeusz Kosciuszko lived and died in Solothurn, and was recognized as a symbol of the struggle for freedom and of Polish-Swiss friendship.

Switzerland was the first neutral country to recognize the reborn Polish state in 1918. It was from Switzerland that distinguished Poles returned to Poland in that year, men to whom their independent fatherland offered the highest honors. Let me mention just a few of them: Ignacy Paderewski, premier of the reborn Republic; Gabriel Narutowicz, its first president; and Ignacy Moscicki, the last president of prewar Poland.

On the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, I wish to recall the Polish soldiers who were interned in Switzerland, who received in your country conditions in which they could preserve their spirit of struggle and continue their education and work.

Mr Minister, while recalling the historic ties between Poland and Switzerland, we do not forget about the present.

Switzerland is an important political and economic partner for us. We highly appreciate neutral Switzerland's role and energy. Its proposals and conclusions are really serving to consolidate international security and detente and build confidence measures, thus bringing countries and peoples closer together. Therefore the right conditions exist for our political dialogue to become permanent and develop.

Poland is also interested in rapid and tangible progress in negotiations and dialogue leading to a permanent improvement to the international situation. Mindful of our tragic historical experience, we are in favor of and wish to take part in creating the kind of patterns of coexistence that consolidate peace, security, and mutual confidence, on the basis of the permanence of the territorial and political order on our continent. These motives and values lie at the roots of Polish foreign policy. They gave birth to the Rapacki Plan and our initiatives concerning CSCE. The latest Polish proposal to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, known as the Jaruzelski Plan, is also directly descended from these values.

The end of the Vienna CSCE talks is opening a new stage in East-West relations. The accords reached in Vienna permit a major revival of all-European cooperation. Right now, the point is to make these qualitatively new phenomena permanent and irreversible. We attach great hopes to the forthcoming talks between 23 states on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe, and to the talks between 35 states on confidence and security-building measures.

Esteemed Minister, right now, Poland is at a time of profound re-evaluations. Your visit is taking place at the same time as the "roundtable," to which the whole of Polish society attaches great hopes and expectations.

We have already created a series of important legal conditions in order to realign the economy, conditions which permit a broader liberation of enterprise, the application of market principles, and more energetic participation by foreign firms in this process.

We think that there are still unused possibilities of further intensive economic cooperation between our countries. We base this view on the positive results of present contacts and exchanges.

Both our countries possess rich assets of nature, man's natural environment. These assets are facing a serious threat from industrial development, which does not always take into account the need to preserve and protect the environment. The question which all countries, especially the developed one, have to answer is: How to protect the natural environment without impeding necessary scientific development? We must find answers to this question urgently. It seems that a combination of efforts in this sphere by means of joint research and recommendations lies within the limits of the urgent needs and real possibilities of both our countries.

We note with satisfaction Switzerland's interest in Polish culture and art. Swedish artists are highly valued in Poland. We perceive the chances and possibilities of a further expansion of cultural exchange, and will act energetically in that direction.

I believe that through our joint desire and effort, we will lead to a development of comprehensive and mutually advantageous cooperation between our countries.

Esteemed Minister, your talks and meetings in Warsaw will no doubt enable you to take a closer look at Poland's problems. I wish to express my conviction that these talks and meetings will lead to a further intensification of relations between Poland and Switzerland.

Therefore, I propose a toast:

—To your health and that of your wife;
—To the development of cooperation between Poland and Switzerland;
—To the peaceful future of Europe and the world.

Daily Considers Effects of International Trade

AU0702132789 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27-29 Jan 89 pp 1, 3-5

[Jacek Swidzinski report: "Between Seoul, Istanbul, and Warsaw"]

[Excerpts] Until 1881 Korea was probably the most isolated country on earth. Its citizens were not allowed to have contact with foreigners or possess foreign items, on pain of death! South Korea's opening out toward the international division of labor is still causing a great amount of wonder. Spending $3 billion on organizing the Olympic Games in Seoul shows that we are dealing with a new economic power.

Whenever there is talk of Polish exports, the word "tigers" immediately springs to my mind—the great "tiger," as the Asians call Japan, and the four smaller "tigers" of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Apart from their geographical location, these countries, symbols of an economic boom, are joined by a lack of major raw materials; rapid progress from the production of shoddy goods, via production under license, right up to the existence of "high tech" [English expression used] markets; extreme industriousness; and unmatched industrial organization which coordinates output with foreign trade.

How much better Poland's starting position is! We have many valuable resources and a wonderful geographic location. We have one of the most sought-after trade partners in the world, the Soviet Union. And yet, why is it that Poland, such an important trade partner, is unable to exceed a 1-percent participation in global trade? It has been calculated that Poland's participation in world exports has fallen from 1.1 percent in 1979 to 0.6 percent in 1988.

When foreign trade experts compare us with the economic "tigers," they grit their teeth and point to two factors that definitely prevent Poland from playing a greater part in international trade: a lack of credits from outside, and a lack of interest in Polish exports by powerful countries. South Korea has acquired $48 billion worth of credits in a few short years. Apart from that, South Korea enjoys a preference that Poland could never even dream of. It is politics that is responsible for this state of affairs. Although people will argue that we had easy access to Western credits and proper trade relations with the outside world in the 1970's, we never became equal trade partners.

Generally, we as a society do not "feel" foreign trade. In the minds of Poles foreign trade conjures up images of the bazaars of Istanbul or the markets of Budapest. We think that if we are capable of selling an iron or a tape recorder there, then that is how the whole of foreign trade should function as well. However, other laws are at work here. It is not we as a country, and not even as a socialist community, that determine them.

Disputes are still going on in the world about whether the effects of the so-called second oil-price shock since the middle of the 1970's have subsided yet. There are certain signs that they have, for example the major economic growth of the United States in 1986, and it seems that these signs are spreading. World trade last year increased by 3.5 percent, which is considered to be a "moderate" growth. The reason is believed to be an increase in oil prices and a stabilization of the dollar. However, a factor that acts as a brake on this development is the indebtedness of the Third World, already amounting to $1,200 billion; plus the debts of the socialist countries, amounting to at least another $100 billion, including $40 billion owed by Poland. [passage omitted]

As far as exports are concerned, a lot depends on Polish society's attitudes, and these cannot be changed overnight. Instead of condemning the bazaar traders of Istanbul, it is better to explain why Poles have to buy, for example, tattered jeans there. Instead of that, we could import them and sell them all over Poland. And where should the money to pay for these imports come from? From exports, only from exports.

Chuls Kim, [spelling as published] South Korean vice minister of trade, has written: "Korea's adoption of a pro-export development strategy was essential in view of the country's situation. But that still does not explain Korea's success in pursuing this strategy. In my opinion, these are the most important conditions that are necessary for this policy to succeed:
—Total government commitment toward a development of exports;
—A comprehensive implementation of strategy, including a suitable policy of exchange rates, exports, and imports;
—A policy of stabilization that ensures the completion of this strategy within a suitable period of time."

Need we say more?

Rakowski Comments on FRG Trade Situation

LD0402233589 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 4—In his television address here Saturday, Prime Minister Rakowski spoke about the current economic situation in Poland and referred to his recent visit to the FRG.

The FRG is our biggest trade partner in the West, he said. At the same time, our debt in that country is a considerable one. Because we cannot afford to pay our debts, we are paying only interest in a limited quantities—some 2 billion U.S. dollars yearly over the recent eight years. We would like the FRG Government to meet us halfway and create more favourable financial and credit conditions. We have not decided anything. Chancellor Kohl has appointed his plenipotentiary representative, so have I, and these two will discuss problems that can be described as a package of economic and political issues that must be settled.

My visit was widely commented on in the West, mainly in the FRG. There were commentaries also in Poland and I see no point in returning to them, the prime minister said.

Rakowski Receives FRG Bundestag Vice President

LD1002183689 Warsaw PAP in English
1707 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received Vice-President of the West German Bundestag Annemarie Renger today.

Annemarie Renger and the accompanying persons were received by Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula with whom she discussed possibilities of introducing new forms of mutual economic cooperation stemming from the reforms implemented in Poland.

FRG Ambassador to Poland Franz-Joachim Schoeller took part in both meetings.

Also Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek met Annemarie Renger to discuss problems of Polish-FRG coproduction, with a special regard to modernization of the Polish industry in such branches as metallurgy, furniture-making industry and environmental protection.

Director General of the Siemens Concern Otto Georg, taking part in the talks, expressed Siemen's interest in a programme to develop telecommunications, including the sales of telephone exchanges and in establishing close cooperation in other areas.

Annemarie Renger ended her three-day visit to Poland today.

Kucza Holds Talks With FRG Official Teltschnik

LD0302221789 Warsaw PAP in English
1920 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, Feb 3—The first meeting of the Polish premier's personal plenipotentiary and head of PUWP CC foreign department, Ernest Kucza, with plenipotentiary of the FRG's chancellor and the chancellor's advisor in the chancellor's office, Horst Teltschnik, was held here today.

The two have been appointed following the recent meeting of Premier Rakowski with Chancellor Kohl to speed up negotiations between both countries which are currently under way.

The success of the negotiations is to pave the way for Kohl's visit to Poland and a subsequent visit by the FRG's president. The talks by the plenipotentiaries will be continued by turns in Warsaw and in Bonn.

Wojcik Meets, Talks With FRG Industrialists

AU2102122989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 Feb 89 p 8

[PAP report: "Reconnaissance Talks With FRG Entrepreneurs"]

[Text] Bonn—Andrzej Wojcik, secretary of state for foreign economic cooperation, met with West German entrepreneurs here who are interested in establishing or expanding economic cooperation with Poland. On Wednesday, he ended his reconnaissance mission in the FRG with talks at the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Baden-Wuerttemberg, where he spoke about the new legislation that is encouraging foreign investments in Poland. The previous such meeting with FRG industrialists took place at the Duesseldorf Chamber of Trade and Industry. Wojcik also held talks at the Trade Commission with the East in Cologne, where the Union of German Industrialists is based. The Polish guest spoke to Dieter von Wuerzen, parliamentary state secretary in the Ministry of Economics.

The FRG is our largest trade partner after the USSR, said Wojcik. Following its drastic fall at the beginning of the 1980's, trade with the FRG has picked up again, reaching a record level of DM5.85 billion last year. However, according to experts, this guarantees neither an increase in this trade, nor an automatic continuation thereof. Nevertheless, the first tentative signs of the Polish economic reform are already noticeable here. The FRG is the country with the greatest number of joint ventures with Poland.

FRG Provides Financial Aid for Polish Church

AU2102144789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Feb 89 p 25

[PAP report: "FRG To Provide Z520 Million for a Church Fund To Supply Rural Areas with Water"]

[Text] An agreement was signed in Warsaw whereby the FRG will contribute to a church fund to pay for water supplies to rural areas. The FRG will provide about Z520 million. Thirteen villages will receive supplies of drinking water.

The agreement was signed by Franz Joachim Schoeller, FRG ambassador; Professor Witold Trzeciakowski, chairman of the Church Agricultural Committee; and Marian Stolzman, chairman of the fund to provide rural areas with water.

PPR-Iran Economic Cooperation Commission Meets

LD1802103689 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, 17 Feb—The Polish-Iranian ministerial committee on trade and economic cooperation met at its third session here between February 15 and 17. It agreed to boost two-way trade this year threefold compared to 1988. Last year's trade is estimated at between 80 and 90 million dollars.

The meeting, co-chaired by Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski on the Polish side and Iranian Minister of Trade Abd al-Hoseyn Vahaji, reached agreement on bilateral deliveries of goods in 1989 basing on guidelines set down by the prime ministers of the two countries who held talks in Warsaw last month.

The principal Polish import will be crude oil. Its deliveries are to reach 1 million tonnes in 1989. A further increase in purchases is possible in the following years, provided Poland can present a sufficiently broad export offer.

Other Polish imports will be chromium ores, foodstuffs and other consumer goods.

Polish exports to Iran will comprise electroengineering products like building and road building machines, machine and hand tools, equipment for minining industry, fishing vessels, chemicals, coking coal and metallurgical products.

While in Tehran, Minister Jastrzebski held talks with Iranian ministers of foreign affairs, industry, energy, agricultural development, and construction. Several areas of cooperation have been agreed upon as a result, including joint production of machine tools, mining equipment, participation of Polish experts in modernization and expansion of power facilities, food processing plants, chemical works.

Envoy Discusses Economy With Japanese Officials

OW1602144389 Tokyo KYODO in English 1352 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo, Feb 16 KYODO—The future course of Poland's paced move toward competitive political pluralism depends on the willingness of the opposition and government to make concessions in the national interest, Polish Ambassador to Japan Ryszard Frackiewicz told reporters here Thursday.

Commenting on the round-table discussions under way in Warsaw since February 6 between the government and labor representatives, including leaders of the banned trade union Solidarity, Frackiewicz called on negotiating parties to tailor their demands to current economic and political realities.

"Everybody in the government and in the opposition realizes that (political and economic) reform is absolutely indispensible," Frackiewicz stated at the embassy luncheon.

Frackiewicz indicated, however, that the opposition's level of concern over Poland's heavy debts and dire economic situation must serve as a gauge to just how far and how fast reforms can be effectively implemented.

He said that the eventual legalization of Solidarity "is part of the package" in the current liberalization trend, but added that the government must first assess how to accommodate "constructive opposition" into a political arena hitherto virtually monopolized by the ruling Communist Party.

The ambassador said that to succeed in gaining a role in the political makeup of the future Poland, groups opposed to the government must strive not merely for "narrow sectional interests but national interests," which he said entails an acceptance of the permanency of the socialist system.

Frackiewicz added, however, that Poland's socialist system is now "subject to change and correction" given the openness of the current domestic and international environment.

"Our problem is one of gradualism and soft-landing," the ambassador said on implementing reform.

He said one possibility is to first accord opposition entities the status of "political associations" and then later allow them to participate as full-fledged political parties.

Frackiewicz said the rapid democratization measures called for by Lech Walesa and other opposition figures, such as the right to strike, which is a major point of contention in the talks, could dangerously inhibit the country's economic health if introduced impetuously.

"There is a matter of where to get the sources for reconstruction of the economy when you must have closing of enterprises, migration of labor, and inflation," he said.

The ambassador said that if the round-table talks come off smoothly, some say as much as 30-40 percent of the parliamentary seats may be designated to the opposition following parliamentary elections tentatively scheduled for May. "This will not be a futile experiment," he predicted.

On the government's banning of Solidarity in 1981, he said that at that time "the Solidarity phenomenon" had been moving in a direction that "could bring us only to catastrophe."

In an apparent allusion to the strategic implications of the situation then he said, "I don't have to refer to some international factors in our situation."

He said Poland already has a multiparty system, but acknowledged that the two legalized minority parties have been accused in the past of "too much submissiveness to the (ruling) Polish Workers party." "They are not so submissive anymore," he said.

On relations with Japan, Frackiewicz called on Tokyo to give up its "wait-and-see attitude" toward investment in Poland and instead "aggressively pursue" economic operations under what he said was an improved investment climate.

PRC Trade Official Signs Trade Protocol

LD0102214389 Warsaw PAP in English
1556 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 1—The trade protocol for 1989 signed here today by the Governments of Poland and the People's Republic of China provides for 12 per cent growth in bilateral trade in relation to the realization of the contracts concluded last year.

It has been envisaged that this year the value of the bilateral trade will reach some 1,280 million Swiss Francs.

Poland's deliveries to China will mainly cover products of electroengineering industry while marketables will make more than half of China's exports to Poland.

Both sides confirmed their willingness to continue economic cooperation in industry and to expand it into other sectors while using new forms of cooperation such as trade exchange with Chinese provinces or setting up Polish-Chinese enterprises in Poland and China.

The protocol was signed by Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Wang Pinqing who told PAP:

"The endorsed agreement in fact reflects the needs and possibilities of both sides. But we think that there are still vast areas for increasing trade exchange and developing economic cooperation.

"We invite Polish enterprises to cooperation, to set up joint ventures and All-Polish firms in China. I think that this kind of work will favourably stimulate reforms in Poland and China and will pep up further growth of economic and trade exchange."

Gusa, Catargiu Elected to National Assembly

AU2102100089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0928 GMT 21 Feb 89

[From the press review]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/2/1989—The press runs a communique of the Central Electoral Commission on the returns of the election of deputies to vacant electoral constituencies in Bucharest and Petrosani [Hunedoara County]. The papers mention that Maj.-Gen. Stefan Gusa, member of the CC of the RCP, first deputy minister of national defense, chief of the general staff, and Irimie Catargiu, member of the CC of the RCP, minister of mines, were elected deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

Priorities in Energy Policy Reviewed

AU2102102589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 21/2/1989—As a fundamental strategic orientation, the RCP policy in point of energy stipulates backing to a growing extent the base of raw materials and energy with domestic resources. In this framework special stress falls on using to the full the national hydroelectric potential, exploring coal deposits and exploiting them intensively, capitalizing on reusable resources and nonconventional forms of energy, nuclear included, as well as on saving energy.

Since 1965, when the Ninth RCP Congress was held, its decisions leading to impetuous development of the national productive apparatus, more than 40 billion lei have been invested in hydroelectric projects. As a result, Romania's hydroelectric potential is currently developed in proportion of 35 percent (up from 3.6 percent in 1965), and meanwhile the power installed in such stations has grown nearly ten times.

Over the 1965-1985 interval within the total amount of primary-energy resources used the share of coal went up from 19.6 percent to 33.2 percent, that of oil and diesel from 5.5 percent to 11.8 percent, and that of gas dropped from 74.2 percent to 53 percent. The power installed in coal-fired stations totals 8,000 MW today. The programme has been backed by a considerable rise in the extraction of coal. Particularly growing has been the lignite output, mainly extracted in open pits, an operation which cuts short the duration of mining preparations while offering economic advantages and leaving room for complex mechanization of extraction and transport. Standing out as telling examples are the pits in the coal field of Oltenia, where the large coal-fired electric stations Isalinta, Rogojelu-Rovinari and Turceni are to be found, too. By and large remarkable dynamics have been recorded by this type of stations. In its four decades of activity, the Energo-Constructia Trust, which handles all the investment in the field, has built 117 generating units totaling over 13,600 MW installed power.

Significant results have also been noted in point of using secondary energy. Over the past five-year plan period (1981-1985) the reusable resources capitalized upon throughout the economy amounted to the equivalent of about 11 million tonnes of conventional fuel, a 73 percent recovery index being attained. Late in the interval the share of those resources represented 14.6 percent of all consumption. There is a national programme for the capitalization of reusable resources, which for 1990 envisages a rise in their volume with the equivalent of more than 5.8 million tons of conventional fuel.

In order to make technologies less energy-thirsty, guzzlers have been identified on a national scale. About 100 such technologies have been spotted and concrete programmes of action worked out, meant to result in an 11.3 percent annual drop in the consumption of fuel and a 6.7 percent drop in that of electric power used.

The research and development directive-programme in the area of power generation for the 1981-1990 interval provides for actions whose materialization is to result, late in the decade, in amounts of electric power nearly 85 times larger than in 1938, pre-war Romania's peak year. Over the current five-year plan interval (1986-1990) the branches of the extractive industry plus the electricity and heat generating industry take in 29 percent of all investments. The development of the base of energy involves expanded use of solid fuels (the share of power generated by inferior coal is to exceed for the first time that generated by hydrocarbons), building new hydroelectric projects, inclusive of microelectric stations, and using new resources of energy. By 1990 the units under the Ministry of Electric Power are envisaged to total 16,518 MW installed power in thermoelectric stations and over 6,500 MW in hydroelectric ones.

Alternative Energy Resources Promoted

AU1602141089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1147 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/2/1989—There is intense preoccupation in Romania for a broader capitalization of the alternative energy resources. It is estimated that the necessities of the animal farms and other farming units, of the small industry be completely met and all rural localities become energy self-sufficient through the use of biogas, biomass, solar and eolian energy, thermal waters and hydroelectric power plants.

Appearing first almost 15 years ago (in 1974) when the first national program of alternative energy resources use was articulated, acquiring a clear economic function and set on precise data subsequently (1979), when the alternative energy resources were first established in a program-directive regarding the country's energy balance, this drive materialized in valuable researches and investments.

Information supplied by the National Council for Science and Technology shows that Romania generated so far about 900,000 tonnes of conventional fuel on account of the alternative resources. A hierarchization of these sources shows solar energy (over 55 percent) as holder of the first place, followed by the heat pumps (over 17 percent), and by eolian energy (about 13 percent). The microhydroelectric power plants (about 5.5 percent) and biogas (some 5.2 percent) share the fourth and fifth places between themselves, and biomass (about 3.4 percent) and geothermal waters (some 3.1 percent) hold the last two places. Naturally, contingent upon site and users, these hierarchies can change, as is the case of geothermal waters, for instance, that hold the first place in the zone of Bihor (Transylvania) or Otopeni (Ilfov agricultural sector), where they are used on heating numerous public buildings, hothouses, etc. As for the solar energy, worth mentioning is the existence of over 800,000 sq. m. solar chips in operation that supply hot water to 387,000 flats and some 600 animal farms. Likewise, 31 solar installations are employed on cereal drying. There are also several thousands individual installations.

According to the programs in force, the energy production based on alternative sources is to double this year and by 1995 it is supposed to reach the equivalent of one fifth of the estimated potential, as by that time the potential of the biomass and 63 percent of that of the microhydroelectric power plants will have been integrally used. Likewise, biogas will be turned to advantage 47 percent.

The attainment of the set targets relies on the fact that the necessary equipment for complete power installations has already been homologated and put to manufacturing. An important thing is also the supplying of the county people's councils with lists of standard designs, maps of the potential that can be developed, catalogs with the equipment in current manufacturing, producers and service units.

As for the residue heat, recent studies demonstrate the possibility to heat dwellings in 63 towns in this way.

New Hydropower Plant at Iron Gates Reported

AU1802145789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0933 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/2/1989—The "Iron Gates" power plant construction site stays open. A new hydroelectric station with a total installed generating capacity of 54 MW (two bulb-type turbines of 27 MW each) is being built on the smaller arm of the Danube, at Tiganesti, in the vicinity of the large "Iron Gates II" waterpower plant. The completion of the respective project, which promises wonderful results, is difficult and calls for a large volume of construction operations: More than 165,000 cubic meters of concrete to be cast, 1.5 million cubic meters of earth to be excavated and over 400,000 cubic meters to be dredged. As many as 3,200 tonnes of concrete-steel reinforcement and 24,000 square meters of metal shuttering are also needed. Most of these operations have already been performed and to pave the road for assembly operations.

Romanian power engineers had long ago contemplated the possibility of capitalizing on the tremendous energy-giving potential of the Danube in the Cazane Gorges, which is called the "Iron Gates." River-development projects were worked out to provide for the building of hydroelectric stations and for safe river navigation. The opportunity to fulfil such a wide-scope project emerged only in the years of socialist construction when a powerful and varied industrial structure had been created, at the end of a long-standing, intense exercise on the part of the Romanian school of power engineering.

The "Iron Gates I" waterpower and navigation system, seen as the most ambitious power project in Europe at the respective time, was built over 1964-1972. A fruit of Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation, the power system includes a storage lake extending on 17,000 hectares (two billion cubic meters of water), a 441-m long spill-way with a discharge of 15,500 cubic meters per second, dams totalling 170 kms in length, and two plants of 1,100 MW each.

The navigation system, equipped with two modern locks in the close vicinity of the Romanian and Yugoslav power stations, increased river traffic four times over 1964.

The efficiency of the "Iron Gates I" power plant (the original investment was recovered in seven years' time) convinced the two countries to start a new project—the "Iron Gates II" system, located downstream. Two hydroelectric stations were built there, each boasting eight 27-MW bulb-type turbines, which annually produce roughly 1,400 million kWh.

The application of modern computer technology to control both power systems is being generalized.

Daily on 'Harmful' Nuclear Modernization Process

AU1702163389 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Feb 89 p 6

[Dr Traian Groza article: "A Harmful Process of Expanding the Potential of Destruction: 'Nuclear Modernization' in Europe—Dangerous Developments in the Qualitative Arms Race"]

[Excerpts] Assessing the events that took place in Europe and in the world last year, President Nicolae Ceausescu noted that, although certain small steps have been taken toward nuclear disarmament, the threat of a new world war still persists, a war that would inevitably turn into a nuclear war, capable of destroying the whole of mankind.

There was hope and a desire that the elimination of the 2,611 missiles with a range of between 500-5,500 km, that was agreed upon in the INF Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States, will give an impetus to the process of completely denuclearizing our continent. Unfortunately, things did not follow this natural course; under the aegis of "modernization," measures are being promoted that are aimed not only at "compensating" for the eliminated weapons, but at increasing the nuclear destruction potential in Europe.

The "modernization" has cropped up at a time of nuclear tension which is dangerous for our continent because, apart from the missiles which are to be scrapped—that is, a total number of 1,515 of the most powerful intermediate-range missiles over a period of 7 years from the date the treaty comes into force—Europe is virtually a target for some extremely powerful and diversified nuclear arsenals. [passage omitted]

NATO is "dissatisfied" with the means at its disposal. [passage omitted] In past years, various "ideas" were repeatedly examined and the need to "modernize" was also reaffirmed, as was the determination to implement this modernization plan. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that a process of expanding NATO nuclear forces in Europe is under way. Referring to the NATO decisions and to the measures that have been announced, President Nicolae Ceausescu noted: "This actually means increasing—as this body declared—the destructive potential of existing weapons four times over, thus exceeding by far the destructive power of the weapons eliminated on the basis of the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles between the Soviet Union and the United States of America." [passage omitted]

The peoples of Europe desire the modernization and effective renewal of political thinking and a firm departure from the trend that has led to the militarization and split of our continent. Genuine modernization in the nuclear area, in keeping with the positive sense of this term, means eradicating all weapons that jeopardize the existence of the human species.

SCINTEIA Calls for Conventional Arms Cuts

AU1802201489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 18 Feb 89

["Radical Cut in Conventional Weapons—a Component of the Unitary Process of Disarmament"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/2/1989—Under the above heading, "SCINTEIA" runs a commentary in its 18 February issue, which shows among other things:

Romania has underscored the imperious need for a radical cut in conventional weapons as an inseparable component of general disarmament. In this respect President Nicolae Ceausescu has recently shown that "we should act for a radical reduction of conventional weapons. Romania took such a measure two years ago, after consulting the people, and reduced them."

Assessing the complex process of disarmament as unitary, Romania has declared and takes steady action for the adoption of measures to simultaneously liquidate nuclear weapons, the major threat to mankind, as well as chemical arms, all the weapons of mass destruction, since this is the only guarantee that no centres of power occur which might use such armament to impose their policy of threat and domination.

Romania, which has neither nuclear nor chemical weapons and does not intend to produce like weapons, considers that firm action should be taken to gradually eliminate them in the shortest possible time by stopping their manufacture and testing as well as by destroying all the nuclear and chemical stockpiles and outlawing them. So, at the current disarmament conference in Geneva, Romania advanced a set of proposals apt to start an effective process of negotiations on nuclear and chemical disarmament.

Certainly, in the disarmament process, the conventional disarmament measures hold a major place. Their radical cut is a stringent demand by virtue of realities in the world today which prove that they are a substantial part of the existing arsenals, that they have seen steady escalation and, hence, no progress can be made toward disarmament unless these weapons are cut accordingly.

A particularly dangerous situation has been created in Europe which turned into a genuine powder keg ready to explode at a single spark.

One cannot disconsider the fact that conventional weapons misuse huge funds and material resources, the greatest part of the over 1,000 billion dollars annually wasted on the arms race, which could otherwise satisfy pressing socioeconomic demands.

These are unavoidable realities which outline the dramatic dimensions of the threats permanently hanging over Europe. That is why Romania has militated for a substantial reduction of conventional weapons, of military expenditure and troops, as a highly stringent imperative of our days.

It is well known that several years ago, Romania, through its president's voice, advanced specific proposals along this line, stating for the states members of the two military alliances to covenant, on the basis of negotiations attended by all the European states, to successively reduce conventional weapons and troops so that by the end of the century the existing levels should lower by at least 50 percent.

Romania's consistent plea in this respect has been accompanied by practical actions, as resolute decisions were made several years consecutively for the reduction and, then, freezing of military spending. In November 1986, upon President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, Romania passed on to a 5-percent unilateral reduction of weapons, troops and military expenditure.

Convinced that genuine security does not reside in increasing arsenals but in establishing ever lower ceilings of arming, this being the only way which complies with the interests of peace and of peoples, Romania continued to plead and act for the reduction of conventional weapons and forces of the other types of weapons and military expenditure.

Noteworthy is the fact that, recently, a series of other socialist countries—the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary—have announced measures to cut their conventional weapons, military forces and spendings. Certainly, the interests of peace in Europe and worldwide require the continuous expansion of such measures, their generalization to the entire continent by involving all the states participant in the process of European security and cooperation.

To this end, the declaration of the committee of defence ministers of Warsaw Treaty participant states emphasizes the necessity to radically cut the present level of concentration of the armed forces and armaments in Europe, so that the mutual liquidation of the existing asymmetries and imbalances be ensured and neither of the two military blocs on the continent—the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO—ensuring its thorough defence, should possess the means for attacking by surprise the other side, for offensive operations in general. The figures regarding the potential of the armed forces and conventional armaments of the two political-military alliances underscore the need to impose, right from the beginning, a realist character to the future treaties on conventional disarmament, so that the existing arsenals and troops be substantially reduced.

According to what was agreed upon at the all-European meetings recently concluded in Vienna, the negotiations are to start on reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe in parallel with the negotiations for adopting new security and confidence-building measures on the continent.

In the conception of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu, European security cannot be achieved without disarmament measures in all the domains which should include the banning and liquidation of nuclear and chemical weapons, of other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the substantial cut in conventional armaments, military forces and spendings. Only in this way all the states could enjoy equal conditions of security, could develop unhampered, free of any possibility of blackmail by the use of one weapon or another, free of any threat or use of force, could fruitfully cooperate in a climate of confidence and mutual respect.

Certainly, as regards conventional weapons, the two military alliances in Europe made various proposals of reduction, various figures—greater or smaller—were proposed for a first stage. Romania, as President Nicolae Ceausescu showed, declares for a substantial reduction right from the beginning—of about 50 percent—such a course being in full accord with all European peoples' interests and aspirations.

At the same time, Romania declares for the concomitant abolition of the two military blocs in Europe—as the Warsaw Treaty participant countries have demanded many times in the jointly adopted documents. Consistent to this stand, Romania starts from the reality that the military alliances give no guarantee, and their existence leads only to the aggravation of international situation.

Daily Comments on Settling Foreign Debt Issue

AU1402160789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1308 GMT 14 Feb 89

["For a New Settlement of World Economic and Financial Matters"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/2/1989—A commentary in SCINTEIA of February 14 referring to the conclusion drawn by numerous press columnists after the recent meeting of ministers of finance and governors of central banks from the seven major developed capitalist countries, in Washington, during which an extensive and disputed exchange of opinions was made on the development and prospects of the world economy, on the ways and means to overcome the current difficulties, shows inter alia:

Owing to the promotion of divergent economic policies, commercial and financial imbalances persist between the United States, on the one hand and West Germany and Japan, on the other hand, which results in high interest rates in the U.S.A. mostly, to ensure the necessary inflow of capital to cover the American balance-of-payments deficits.

If the previous American Administration managed to achieve high economic growth rates, to improve the situation in the labour market and to slow the inflation rate down to acceptable levels, the price it had to paid [as received] was the deterioration of the living standard, large quantities of capital brought in from other countries, including the high rates paid by the developing states, a growing instability in world markets and sharpening contradictions among rich countries and between these ones and the poor countries.

While they had long refused to view the external debts of the Third World a general problem—considering it was a matter of temporary difficulties to pay in one country or another which could be solved separately—the developed capitalist state approached this problem in a global manner for the first time, in Washington.

The press columnists pointed to the fact that the proposals to ease the debts analyzed by the participants did not refer only to low-income countries, initially the only countries under consideration, but also to medium-incomes countries, such as the big debtors in Latin America.

The changes of attitude of the seven on the debt problem, reflect certain developments in the international economico-financial situation. The inordinately high interest rates imposed by the banks in the developed capitalist countries placed a heavy burden on the shoulders of the debtor countries.

The intensification of spoliation through excessive interest rates is paralleled by a drastic reduction of the financial flows toward the developing countries, mostly of private ones. The reason behind the reduction of financial flows is that with the maintenance of high rates, the failure to pay previous debts on time entails substantial extra payments from the debtor countries to the creditor banks the profits of which grow although subsequent loans diminish.

The departure of the loans from the economic activity in the debtor countries is considered by experts as one of the most alarming consequences of the recent developments in the international financial markets. For, the granting of new loans only to allow the debtors to pay off the interests of earlier loans leads to the buildup of debts that is not matched by a corresponding increase of the productive capacity, leading to a concomitant decrease of their ability to pay. The poor states' debts sensibly diminish the rich countries' possibilities to cushion the drastic commercial disbalances between them. At the same time, as some participants in the Washington meeting showed, the debts are not only a big burden to the underdeveloped countries, but also a serious threat at the stability of the whole international financial system, at the world economy as a whole. Unfortunately, the participant countries avoided this time as well their involvement in actions apt to help overcoming the serious issues of the Third World, which means a big buildup of "debts" for them as well.

Developments in the international economic life thus point to the realistic character of the proposals advanced by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu for the settlement of the foreign debt issue, of other difficulties in the world economy. Romania's proposals for the settlement of the lagging countries' financial issues, making up coherent packages of measures, associated with those related to the international trade, the raw materials, the transfer of technology, the reduction of the military expenditures, have a profoundly renewing character and fit in Romania's general outlook on the ways out of the current world economic crisis.

A central element of those proposals starts from the thesis that the rules and mechanisms governing the international economic relations should qualitatively mirror the problems of the developing countries, the imperative of eradicating the underdevelopment, the big inter-state gaps. Hence, the necessity repeatedly stressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu to switch to a new approach to the economic and financial issues, a global approach starting from the achievement of a new world economic order apt to ensure the progress of all peoples.

In view of attaining such a target, Romania thinks it necessary to take a different way to solving the economic issues, that entails the definitive renunciation of the old policy of overcoming the crisis on account of the poor countries and the endorsement of a new, democratic policy. In this sense, Romania proposed at the recent UN General Assembly session that the world organization should invite all states to assume greater responsibility for the world economic situation, starting real negotiations within the UN, that should be participated in by all states, on an equal footing, to the end of achieving understandings and translating into life a plan of action.

Romania thinks that an important place within such a program should be held by the measures pursuing a global, political-economic settlement of the developing countries' foreign debt issue which is not only an expression of the inequities of the current system of inter-state relations, but also one of the major obstacles in the building of a new international economic order, of all peoples' progress.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 Feb

AU1802162489

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during 11-17 February period (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Stefan Andrei, PEC candidate member, received PRC Trade Minister Li Lanqing, in Bucharest on 16 February. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 16 Feb)

Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, met with Israel's Vice Premier Shim'on Peres, in Tel Aviv on 12 February. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1713 GMT 12 Feb 89)

Further Reportage on 'Ali Khamene'i Visit

Concludes Sarajevo Trip

AU2102200089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Predrag Smolja report]

[Text] As part of his visit to Yugoslavia, Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i today visited Sarajevo, where he held talks with the Bosnian Presidency officials. Here is a report by Predrag Smolja:

The official part of the visit by Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i to Bosnia-Hercegovina started with talks at the republican Presidency. The host of the prominent guest from Iran was Dr Nikola Filipovic, president of the Bosnian Presidency, who held 1-hour-long friendly and cordial talks with Khamene'i.

After he had briefed the Iranian president about the main features of the republic, Nikola Filipovic pointed out a number of spheres which could open up new opportunities for broadening Yugoslav-Iranian cooperation, particularly in the sphere of the economy. In this context, Filipovic stressed, both sides would have to strive more toward the development of industrial cooperation, joint ventures, and the more modern way of linking markets.

Expressing his belief that Khamene'i's visit will mark a new step in the development of friendship and mutual relations between Yugoslavia and Iran, Nikola Filipovic, president of the Bosnian Presidency, expressed the sincere wish and readiness of Bosnia-Hercegovina to fully contribute to this.

After he had expressed thanks for a cordial and warm reception in Sarajevo, Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i said that he already sees bright prospects in relations between Iran and Yugoslavia. As proof of such visions, he mentioned the fact that Iran signed as many as 30 agreements of various forms of cooperation with our country since last October.

According to Khamene'i, the talks held in Sarajevo today demonstrated that Bosnia-Hercegovina could play a significant part in enriching cooperation between the two countries. The best example of this is the Energoinvest work organization of Sarajevo, which was visited by the Iranian president this afternoon. One should say that Energoinvest has already been present in Iran for 25 years, and that in this period it manufactured and delivered 35 transformer stations and over 2,000 km of power lines to Iran. Although the leaders of Energoinvest stress that they are satisfied with the current cooperation, they would like the cooperation to expand. During Khamene'i's visit to this composite associated labor organization, Energoinvest presented a draft agreement on building a factory for oil industry equipment, which was accepted with pleasure.

After the visit to Energoinvest, Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i left Sarajevo for Belgrade.

Speaks at Belgrade Dinner

LD2102202289 Tehran IRNA in English 1925 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 21, IRNA—Iranian President Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Khamene'i and his entourage returned to Belgrade Tuesday evening after a short trip to Sarajevo, the capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Iranian delegation arrived at Sarajevo airport this morning and was greeted by the president, premier, parliamentary speaker and Armed Forces commander of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Later, the president and his team including ministers of foreign affairs and economic and financial affairs, acting commerce minister and several military officials arrived at their residence where they were welcomed by President Nikola Filipovic.

Khamene'i walked to the Gazi Husrefbeg mosque, medressa and library where he was greeted by Husein Mujic, Reis-ul-ulema [name as received] who is also leader of the nearly 4-million Yugoslavian Islamic community. He inspected the library where old copies of the holy Koran and Persian books are kept.

After offering prayer at the Gazi Husrefbeg mosque, the Iranian president in an address to Yugoslavian Muslims Khamene'i expressed hope that they could play a key role in their country's development. [sentence as received]

The Iranian president arrived in Belgrade Monday on a three day official visit at the invitation of his Yugoslavian counterpart President Raif Dizdarevic.

He is to hold a second round of talks with President Dizdarevic before leaving for Bucharest Wednesday.

The first round of talks between the Iranian and Yugoslavian president was held Monday.

At a banquet given in his honor by President Dizdarevic in Belgrade Monday, Khamene'i said:

"The very genuine and rich culture of Islam and the presence of millions of Muslims living in different parts of your country, is another great incentive for an intimate feeling of closeness for the Islamic Republic of Iran as a revolutionary, Islamic system. There are also certain historical elements of the rich Persian language in Yugoslav languages and culture which contribute to our attraction for your country.

"Our people and our country have, in the short span of time since the revolution, been the victims of great suffering and catastrophes through such inconsistencies, and the non-effectiveness of those rights and principles. At this moment in history our world is facing serious threats of biological, chemical and other lethal weapons because of the connivance of big and effective powers if the world.

"In our opinion, the Non-aligned Movement and its summit conference cannot remain indifferent towards such phenomena, the bitter and harmful consequences of which must be borne by the very members of this movement.

"Today any nation which doubts the accepted cultural standardized criterion of the West and dare step on an independent cultural course based on its own traditions, faith and values, will, undoubtedly, become the target of ruthless and violent propaganda invasion by the same people who have adopted the freedom of choosing ones way of life as their luxurious and boastful slogan.

"They do not hesitate to call such courageous, principled, cultured and original nations as 'uncultured' and 'uncivilized' and fail to remember that the negation and rejection of other peoples' national cultures, some of which go back a long way in history, is itself a flagrant instance of unculturedness.

"As far as Yugoslavia and Iran are concerned we expect that our further exchanges of opinion and increased contacts and mutual visits, as well as the exploitation of initiatives and proper decisions will daily further the potentials of the relations."

Remarks on Rushdie Affair

LD2202064189 Tehran IRNA in English 0625 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 22, IRNA—President 'Ali Khamene'i said Tuesday that the fatwa [religious decree] pronounced by Imam Khomeyni has caused Muslims in some Islamic countries to put pressure on their governments and ask them why they were silent on this book.

"This is a wave which will spread," the president said, referring to the sentence passed on Indian born British writer Salman Rushdie for his blasphemous book, 'The Satanic Verses.'

"We have our own principles in foreign policy," he added, "and shall never swerve from them for political considerations."

Khamene'i was speaking at a dinner given in his honor by Iran's ambassador to Yugoslavia, Mohammad Javad Asayesh-Zarchi, on the second day of a state visit to this country.

Referring to the decision by the EC member countries to withdraw their envoys from Tehran, the president too believed the move would have no effect.

An idea had been put forward, the president said, that in order to defeat the fatwa, Rushdie's book should be published as widely as possible throughout the world.

"This is not the way," the Iranian presdient said, adding that the effect would be to anger Muslims even further.

Workers' Strikes, Unrest Continue in Kosovo

Officials Intervene

LD2102114689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Following this morning's session of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo and the LC Provincial Committee Presidium, which assessed the complex situation arising from the strike by miners of Albanian nationality in Stari Trg, members of the provincial political aktiv have set out for many collectives in an attempt to prevent the spread of work stoppages and new gatherings.

Many municipal leaders are also talking to the workers who have stopped work in several Trepca collectives and in some other work organizations in Kosovo.

Security Said 'Deteriorating'

AU2102152189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The republican secretary for internal affairs, Radmilo Bogdanovic, stated that according to the assessment of the Serbian secretariat for internal affairs, the security situation in Kosovo is deteriorating and could escalate into widespread unrest.

Bogdanovic stated this at a news conference at the Serbian Assembly. The reason for the news conference was the next session of the Assembly, which is supposed to discuss the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution.

Roundup of Protests

LD2102184389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—In a large number of work organizations in Kosovo today, production was halted and protest meetings by workers of the Albanian nationality, motivated by political reasons, were organized. The "epicenter" of these latest events, as on several occasions to date, was the Trepca lead and zinc mine in Stari Trg. The miners have also been joined by employees in other production units of this combine. [passage omitted]

Miners at Trepca's other mine, Kisnica i Novo Brdo, also failed to come up from the mine-shaft this morning. They were joined by workers on the first shift, and the first quantities of lead and zinc ore from these pits came out only after 1000. Eyewitnesses assert that some miners, when going down into the pit, carried with them more food than normal, which suggests that they were preparing to remain underground for a long time or to share it out of solidarity with the miners on the third shift.

This morning workers at the Goles magnesium mine, near Lipljan, also stopped work. They too are making the same demands and are stressing that they will not come out of the pit until these demands are fulfilled.

Work has also been stopped by workers at the Balkan tire factory in Suva Reka. It is interesting that at 0300 today, about 30 workers at the Printeks textile factory in Prizren, who also spoke in the same way as the Trepca miners, also stopped work. As the day passed, more and more news about strikes in other Kosovo collectives flowed in. More than 500 workers gathered at about noon in the factory yard of the Ramiz Sadiku car parts plant as they declined to talk with the leadership of the collective and representatives of the municipality. At the same time, one group of workers of Albanian nationality from two units of the Intedj textile combine in Gnjilane abandoned their work and announced that they would not disperse until Trepca's miners come out of the pit. They first declined a breakfast in the workers' cafeteria.

Such a manifestation of protest, that is, refusing food, was particuarly prevalent among some units of the Kosovo electricity distribution and Kosovo power plants in Obilic. Some workers in the Prinstina shock absorbers factory refused food as well. While almost the entire political aktiv of Kosovo and many municipal activists are operating at the grassroots level in an attempt to return the workers to work, new strikes and gatherings are being announced.

In the wake of the latest events this morning, it was learned that a joint session of the Presidium of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee was held. These two formus, as announced, will assess the political situation in the province.

Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Presidency, and Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, today attended a meeting of the committee of all-people's defense and social self-protection of Trepca.

It is noticeable that in these latest disturbances, the individuals and groups among the workers who are most vociferous are those who were also vociferous in the ealier similar protest demonstrations.

Outwardly spontaneous, the present strikes in Kosovo have probably again been prepared and organized in advance. The utterances from the lips of workers have least to do with workers' affairs, and they are, in act, repeating the theses which have recently and frequently been heard coming from some of the Albanian intellectuals and from some institutions, and which have been scrupulously published in some public media.

The latest form of the manifestation of political stances by some Kosovo workers of Albanian nationality, which is threatening to turn into a general strike, has begun 1 day before the session of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, at which the draft amendments to the republic's Constitution are supposed to be formulated, and 2 days before the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session. At this plenum, which has otherwise not yet been officially announced, information should be approved on the responsibility of members of the provincial committee and its Presidium as a result of the failure to implement the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo.

Over 1,000 Stari Trg Strikers

AU2102202889

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian, at 1800 GMT on 21 February, devotes about 25 minutes of its 32-minute newscast to reports on events connected with the Stari Trg miners' strike. An announcer in the studio begins by saying that "following the complicated situation created by the miners of Stari Trg, members of the province's political aktiv went to numerous collectives to prevent the extention of stoppages and the holding of new meetings." The announcer goes on to say that: "Remzi Kolgeci, chairman of the Kosovo Presidency, and Rahman Morina, chairman of the Presidium of the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee, attended an extended meeting of the committee for general people's defense and social self-protection of the Trepca combine in Titovo Mitrovica."

The announcer states that in the Stari Trg mine itself, over 1,000 workers are still in the galleries, refusing to come out: "They are protesting because of the failure by the local, provincial, republican, and federal organs to meet their demands."

The announcer then gives way to a presumably recorded dispatch by two on-the-scene correspondents. One of the reporters says that the miners are on strike "because of the failure to meet the demands that they have made at various meetings, which we have previously reported." The correspondent interviews a local trade union official, who states that the strike began yesterday, during the second shift. The official says that he immediately began talks with the miners underground, but they had refused to talk to him, saying: "You are in no position to meet our demands. We have presented these demands time and time again over the past 3 months, but they have not been met. We have therefore decided to strike." The trade union official goes on to say that further talks with the strikers also failed to produce results. He also states that he had offered to send food down the mine, but this was also refused. The miners had told him: "Until our demands are met, we will not come up."

Despite this, the official goes on to say, some miners later on accepted some food, but others did not. According to this official, the miners had asked, among other things, that a list of organizers of the November rallies by Albanian workers be made public if such organizers existed, adding: "There are no such organizers."

According to the trade union official, the strikers had also protested against the "pressure now being exerted by some organs to reduce the number of teachers." The official goes on to say: "They have also demanded the resignation of Rahman Morina, chairman of the provincial LC committee," adding that the strikers had also insisted that provincial, republican, and federal officials, including Milosevic, Suvar, and Alia Sukrija, come down to talk to them in order "to acquaint themselves with the situation and determine for themselves whether we are nationalists or not." The official also states that the workers had complained about the difficult working conditions and health hazards in the mine. The official admits that the ventilation system in the mine is inadequate. The official also complains that provincial leaders themselves have not come to inquire about the situation on the spot, adding that even republican and federal officials should come and talk to the workers.

The second of the two reporters on the spot adds: "In addition to the demands mentioned by our interlocutor here, the miners have also made the following demands: that the mistaken policy toward Albanians be stopped and that Musaedin Azemi and Alia Sukriu be dismissed." The reporter states that the striking miners have refused to make any other statement at all to the media representatives.

Back in the studio, the announcer says that the workers of the "Ramiz Sadiku" automobile parts in Pec have also stopped work and gathered in the canteen in solidarity with the Trepca miners, adding: "They again reiterated their dissatisfaction with the problems in Kosovo, the assessment of the November events, and the discussions on constitutional changes." He is followed by a recorded telephone report from a correspondent in Pec, citing one of the protesting workers as saying: "Those who speak in a language other than the people's cannot remain in leading positions and do not represent the workers class." The said worker is cited by the correspondent as recalling the Albanian workers class role during World War II and demanding, in a partly indistinct passage: "Slobodan Milosevic, Rahman Morina, and Alia Sukriu must resign."

This is followed by other reports in the same vein from various communes where workers have also laid down their tools in solidarity with the Trepca miners.

Koljgeci Attempts Talks

AU2102215989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Milivoj Mihajlovic report]

[Text] The Trepca miners from Stari Trg are still holding a protest. Some 1,000 miners are refusing to leave the shaft despite the fact that they were asked to do so by the mine's committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection.

At the meeting of this committee, which was also attended by Rahman Morina and Remzi Koljgeci, it was assessed that this method of manifesting dissatisfaction does not contribute to the stabilization of the situation in this work organization, but is in fact making the situation worse throughout the province. It was concluded that the demands should be expressed at the meetings of sociopolitical organizations of this work organization.

This evening, Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Presidency, went down to the ninth level of the shaft. He intended to persuade the miners to stop their protest. After an approximately 1-hour talk, Koljgeci came out without completing the task. The same happened during the Trepca leadership's talk with miners.

Miners are persistent and insist that their ultimate demands be met. Let us recall that they demand that the principles of the 1974 Constitution not be changed; that the list of the organizers of the November demonstrations be revealed; that Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Ali Sukrija visit Stari Trg; that Rahman Morina tender his resignation; and that, as they say, an end be put to the wrong policies toward Albanian nationality. They also demand that those who proposed the draft law on early retirement of teachers in Kosovo be called to account.

The journalists of the Serbo-Croatian media, who, incidentally, are not allowed to enter the mine, noticed that groups of miners are occasionally coming out of the shaft and that some are returning. They are regularly being provided with food and water. There are several ambulances nearby.

Some 250 miners of the Kisnica and Ajvalija mines are holding a similar protest. The wave of dissatisfaction which hit nearly the entire province today looks as if it is dying down tonight. In several work organizations, workers are still refusing food; this happened tonight in the Pristina shock absorbers factory. Some 500 workers at the Gnjilane textile combine are still protesting. At several workers' gatherings in some work organizations, the workers are calling for the resignations of Ali Sukrija, Slobodan Milosevic, and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

At present, the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium are holding a session in Pristina. The session started shortly after 1800 [1700 GMT].

Leaders Call Action 'Blackmail'

LD2202105789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0050 GMT 22 Feb 89

["Statement from the Session of the Kosovo Presidency and Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Following the work stoppage and refusal by miners of Trepca to come out of that mine, as well as the work stoppages in several collectives in the province, the situation is now very complex. The protests and the political demands are confirmed as being connected with those already voiced at meetings by workers of Albanian nationality, which is leading to the further worsening of the already serious political and economic situation in Kosovo. This is said in a statement from a session of the Presidency of the Kosovo SAP and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC], issued after midnight. The statement expresses the conviction that the working class, led by a true desire for a better life together, will turn to practical work and to resolving political, economic, social, and other issues. The text of the statement follows:

At their joint session on Tuesday, 21 February 1989, the Presidency of the Kosovo SAP and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC PC considered the current political and security situation in the province, following the work stoppage and the refusal of the Trepca miners to come out of their mine, and the subsequent work stoppages held in solidarity in several collectives in the province. The Presidency and the Presidium assessed the situation as very complex, with possible serious political consequences.

Such forms of expressing dissatisfaction confirm that there is a connection between those protests and the political demands already made at meetings of workers of Albanian nationality and with those of November 1988. All this is leading to a further worsening of the already serious political and economic situation in Kosovo.

The continuation of the process of political destabilization prevents the successful implementation of established tasks and diminishes the possibility of organized, effective, consistent, and united action by the LCY. At this moment, what is most important is the united support of Communists, working people, and citizens, and members of all nations and nationalities for social action which will ensure the faster resolution of problems in Kosovo, because the LC does not, nor can it have, interests which are different from those of the working class.

The present provincial leadership is united and resolute in its efforts to persevere in the implementation of all of the tasks of the 9th, 18th, and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions on Kosovo, regardless of the resistance which has appeared in some quarters in recent days. Cadre renewal, carried out on a democratic basis in the provincial committee and its Presidium, has been supported by the majority of Communists and citizens in Kosovo, as well as further afield. These changes make it possible to consistently implement the LCY policy, the policy of brotherhood and unity, to restore intranational trust, and to create a united front of the working class and of all nations and nationalities.

The Presidency and the Presidium stress that the consistent implementation of the stances of the 13th congress on the strengthening of brotherhood and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is vitally important, not only for the political stability of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but for Yugoslavia as a whole as well. The Kosovo LC calls for constitutional changes which will ensure that the Socialist Republic of Serbia will realize the vital functions of a state and self-managing community throughout its territory, and also calls for the consistent realization of the essence of the autonomy of the provinces which are a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and a constituent part of the federation, as is stated in the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, item five.

Claims that the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia will threaten fundamental orientations and the rights of the province and of Albanians in Kosovo are tendentious and malicious, directly opposed to the changes themselves; in the last analysis, they are attempts to prevent the adoption of the Constitution in the envisaged period. These claims are also an expeession of an unjustified lack of confidence in the LC, all the progressive forces in Kosovo, and in the community as a whole.

The changes will not diminish the economic, political, cultural, and other rights of the nationalities, nor will they bring their national identity into question. In this respect, there can be no question of a mistaken policy toward the Albanian nationality in Kosovo. This is a theory being put forward by Albanian nationalists and individuals who, from buraucratic and statist positions, oppose the changes to the Constitution which are in the interests of all nations and nationalities.

The Presidency and the Presidium assess that tendencies to exert pressure, blackmail, and to set conditions are unacceptable. To accept them would mean to block the realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo—particularly the immediate tasks of the 17th and 20th LCY Central Committee sessions—as well as the tasks set at the 20th and 21st Kosovo LC Provincial Committee sessions.

The establishment of individual responsibility and the differentation of the LCY policy and of cadre restoration at all levels are important preconditions for the realization of the tasks in their entirety. In the course of this, one should respect former accomplishment, a clear Yugoslav orientation, the knowledge and readiness to persist in the realization of the LCY policy, and the creation of conditions for the normalization of the situation in Kosovo. The problems which have accumulated cannot be solved by old-fashioned reasoning, nor can the struggle for the elimination of the consequences of the activiies by Albanian separatists and nationalists be won in this way. It is up to the political, economic, municipal, and provincial leaderships to explain clearly and constantly what the policy of the LCY is in regard to the constitutional changes, intranational relations, and the interests of all nations and nationalities. This refers to correctly interpreting clear assessments by the LC provincial committee about the mass protests and demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality in November 1988.

The presidency and the Presidium believe that the working class, led by a true desire for a better common life, will focus on practical work and resolving the political, economic, social, and other existing issues.

Activists Fail in Effort

LD2202092689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—About 1,000 Trepca miners in Stari Trg spent tonight in the mining shafts. Yesterday's attempts by Remzi Koljgeci, Rahman Morina, and other provincial—as well as Titova Mitrovica's—activists to persuade the miners to come out of the pit failed. Yesterday, a big shaft furnace in Trepca's smelting works was extinguished, which may spell difficulty for further production. Experts maintain that at least 15 days is needed to start its normal work again. This morning the workers in the Titova Mitrovica car battery plant are not working, either.

Commentary on Situation

AU2102183389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] The strike by the Kosovo miners of Albanian nationality who are expressing their more or less known, but to some extent broadened, political demands has taken place as expected. This takes place 1 day before the session of the republican constitutional commission and 2 days before the Serbian Assembly session, which is supposed to finally harmonize the outstanding questions, above all those that concern ways of changing the republican Constitution.

Let us recall that according to an existing provision of the Constitution—which arose informally through previously unregistered channels—as a special working group established, in order to change the Serbian Constitution, one needs the consent of the provincial assemblies. If this consent is lacking, the motion to change the Constitution is put aside for 1 year and is then raised again.

This fact has significantly reduced the sovereign rights of Serbia, making it almost a second-rate republic, and certainly unequal in relation to other republics. Correcting this obvious discrepancy—the motives of which lie in the domain of the politically unsustainable theory and practice of decisionmaking at the federal level, according to the balance of power criterion—the constitutional amendments envisage the so-called return to the previous state of affairs, which is to say granting the Serbian Assembly power to make sovereign decisions concerning changes to the republican Constitution.

As is known, this solution received the political support of the LCY Central Committee, admittedly with a delay, which was not caused only by reasons of a procedural nature. The additional pressure lies in the demand that Rahman Morina, recently elected president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, be replaced. He is in fact one of those Albanians whose Yugoslav orientation, orientation firmly grounded on the original AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, cannot be questioned by anybody.

This kind of Albanian is a thorn in the side of some individuals and groups who are directing from a safe place behind the scenes—this spontaneous outflow of political will of a section of Albanian masses through an already tested method of maintaining illusions about the real character, essence, and meaning of the changes to the Serbian Constitution. However, this maneuver is so worn out that it has become transparent and, thus, totally unconvincing.

Zivan Marelj Resigns From Vojvodina Assembly

LD2102155189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Zivan Marelj, president of the Vojvodina Assembly, today submitted his resignation from that post because, as he himself stated, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee had meted out a measure of final warning to him. The commission for elections and appointments of the Vojvodina Assembly immediately passed Marelj's resignation on to the delegates of the provincial assembly, who will, it is expected, relieve Zivan Marelj of his duties as president of the Vojvodina Assembly on the 24th of this month. The commission for elections and appointments proposed that Katalin Hajnal be relieved of her duties as vice president of the Vojvodina Assembly, since she had the same measure meted out to her by the provincial committee of the Vojvodina LC, which also withdrew her mandate in the sociopolitical chamber of the assembly.

Vojvodina Insists on Extraordinary Congress

AU2002170889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 89 p 3

[Z. Serencez report: "Name Should Be Given After a Discussion"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 16 Feb—We cannot talk about the term "regular congress" before we hold a public discussion on activities concerning the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress. One should fully respect the essence of the Vojvodina Communists' demand and comply with the demand of the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference. The public discussion should decide on the name of the congress and when it will be held. This was stated by Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, at today's session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee.

I am in favor of calling the congress an extraordinary congress, Ljubo Latinovic said, because the congress will be an extraordinary congress. Comrade Korosec assumed a right which he does not have, Stojan Berber said. The conditions are extraordinary, the situation is extraordinary, and we therefore demand an extraordinary congress, Stojan Berber said.

It was concluded that the working version of the decision to convene the 14th LCY Congress be adopted, but that the congress should be called an extraordinary or early congress, and not a regular congress. The first version of the "document" on proposed activities concerning preparations for the 14th LCY Congress did not proceed without the Presidium raising some objections; therefore, the stands will be formulated later.

Slavko Gordic pointed out that this document contains some assertions that could cause resistance. Some parts of the LCY seem to be more prepared to consider political pluralism, although this topic has not been properly discussed in our country. The authors of the document overlooked the new democratic wave of the masses in Vojvodina, Serbia, and Montenegro when they were considering political pluralism, Gordic said.

Markovic Talks With Vojvodina Leaders

AU1702184389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Markovic in Novi Sad"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 15 Feb—Ante Markovic, president-designate of the FEC, today had talks with Vojvodina leaders in the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina about the preparation of the work program and the cadre set-up of the FEC.

As announced, it was stated that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina gives its full support to the proposed elements of the program presented by Ante Markovic for finding a way out of the crisis. It was said that this preliminary program follows the line of the economic and social reform that is being developed in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY. Support was also expressed for the cadres in the new FEC, which will implement this program.

Ljubicic Expresses Optimism for Resolving Crisis

AU2002172189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 89 pp 5-6

[Dragan Radevic report on the interview in Belgrade with Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency: "Yugoslavia Is Stronger Than All Difficulties"; date not given]

[Text] Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency, visited the POLITIKA newspaper organization this week and talked with the director and chief editors and journalists of newspapers published by POLITIKA about the current sociopolitical situation in the country. He also answered several topical questions.

[Question] For some time Yugoslavia has been facing difficulties and searching for ways to overcome them. All well-meaning people in the country and abroad are asking where our country is going. Malicious people expect and hope that our efforts will fail.

[Ljubicic] It is known that we have achieved significant results during our development, but there were some crude mistakes made later: first, excessive and irrational money borrowing abroad, then inadequate usage of these loans in the country. As a result of an excessive decentralization, the resources—that is the capital—were divided too much, which made quicker development impossible.

Some laws pertaining to the system—the Law on Associated Labor among others—created a cumbersome and unproductive bureaucratic apparatus, which swallowed up social accumulation. Distortions in the world market and prices of oil and raw materials have used up the already insufficient resources of the domestic accumulation.

All this and many other things impoverished our economy. We gradually entered an economic crisis, after which a political and then overall social crisis was bound to follow.

The way out should now follow the same road. One should first solve economic difficulties, which will help us overcome everything else. However, that does not mean that one should not very actively work on overcoming the overall social crisis as well.

Prerequisites for Solving the Crisis Exist

All assessments start from the fact that we got ourselves into considerable economic difficulties and that the way out will be neither quick nor easy. Therefore, what we need is a planned approach and much effort, but there is basis for assumptions that the crisis can be solved.

Amendments to the SFRY Constitution make freer operation and links with foreign countries possible for work organizations. Changes in some laws pertaining to the economic system enable the creation of a free market and other things which will make domestic work organizations choose between operating more economically or being closed down.

Some repayments to foreign creditors have been postponed, that is, debts have been refinanced, which gives our economy a breathing period to recover and invest resources within the country. We should take advantage of some positive foreign economic trends that have been established for importing raw materials and semi-finished products.

There is also the new FEC, which will certainly introduce some new things into the concept and realization of the economic reform.

There Is No Unified Political Strategy

[Question] Why have we gotten into such a political and general social crisis?

[Ljubicic] To say that a grave economic situation has caused all this is not the correct answer. We have gone through periods of even greater poverty in the past, but we were then united, expected to overcome the poverty, and did so. At that time we had Tito, who always had the best solution to any situation.

And what we have now is disturbed relations between some leaders and some leaderships in the LCY. Before and during the 20th LCY Central Committee session, we saw where this has led us. Disturbed relations have led to the lack of a united political strategy. Even when we agreed upon some issues that are of key importance for Yugoslavia, the decisions were not implemented, and everything fell apart according to republican and provincial interests. In such an atmosphere, democratic centralism cannot be applied to all questions dealt with by the LCY.

Although it is not good, it is a fact that since there are eight political centers, there are accordingly eight places for propaganda influence. Instead of one general Yugoslav line, we now have eight places disseminating separate information and creating public opinion in their own ways, which breaks the unity of the country. It is more or less like this at the moment.

However, I expect that after the 20th LCY Central Committee session, the leading people in the LCY will see where such relations are leading Yugoslavia. We all expect them to realize that they are responsible to the Yugoslav peoples.

One should not stress that the lack of a single Yugoslav political line which must necessarily be followed in Yugoslavia with due respect for specificities, creates favorable conditions for antisocialist and anticommunist forces to exert their influence and create parties, groups, committees, and alternatives...and to rally together all those who are against the orientation of the LC and to continue to destroy unity in Yugoslavia

Therefore, there is a general concern about where Yugoslavia is going and what its future will be like.

Apart From the Nationalists, No One Supports the Destruction of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia

[Question] This concern is sometimes increased by the easy assessments and statements of responsible political people, but the information media also contributes to this. It can thus be heard that Yugoslavia has been brought to the brink of ruin, that it is hanging on a thin thread, that the crisis is too deep, and that there is no way out.

[Ljubicic] I believe that the leaders must measure their words and that they should not express their momentary bad humor without offering proof. Communists must be realistic in their assessments. The situation in the country should not be underestimated, but it is dangerous to give demoralizing assessments and at the same time not make suggestions about how it is possible to get out of such a difficult situation.

However, it seems to me that we are revolving in a complex situation but, nevertheless, signs are emerging that this situation will gradually begin to change in the near future. Despite everything, I am an optimist.

However, I think that it is not right to accept that the disturbed relations and some disagreements among some leaders and some forums can threaten the survival and unity of Yugoslavia. We believe that Tito's work of the SFRY is a more solid and steady creation than some people think.

Apart from anticommunists and antisocialists, and I mean above all the nationalists in all peoples and nationalities both in Kosovo and elsewhere, no one supports the destruction of AVNOJ Yugoslavia. The peoples and nationalities created this country through a struggle, and it is certain that they will not allow it to be destroyed through quarrels and conflicts among certain people.

We believe in everything that Tito believed in, in the firm foundations on which this country rests.

It would be best for those individuals who are afraid, who do not see the way out of the difficulties, to leave their posts as soon as possible.

In order to overcome the difficulties as soon as possible, in order to establish the necessary unity of views over the further development of Yugoslavia, we should all participate and demand that the leaders behave in a responsible way. We should then all struggle against the pernicious disease called nationalism, which has a destructive effect on every revolutionary society. It is essential to understand that all forms of nationalism are dangerous, but the most dangerous is our own, because it usually seems to us that the dangerous nationalism is the one across the republican-provincial border.

[Question] It is encouraging that you look on all this in an optimistic way.

[Ljubicic] When I say that I am an optimist in the search for solutions and in the sorting out of the situation, I am proceeding from the hope, and expect that after the 20th LCY Central Committee Session, we will learn that we must look where the disagreements are, where what separates us is, and how much there is of what joins us, and seek to live together; that the responsible people in the LCY will meet and clear up all the questions where there is disagreement because, as well as the changes to the SFRY Constitution and the Serbian Constitution, the concept of economic reform is also involved here.

I also think that we have created the right conditions for starting to solve the problem of Kosovo. The newly elected provincial committee promises that it will ensure the equal treatment of the lives of all citizens who live in Kosovo. It promises that the old injustices perpetrated against Serbs and Montenegrins will be rectified. Everyone should support and give aid to the comrades in Kosovo.

Thus, new conditions will be created for the position of the autonomous provinces, the Republic of Serbia, and its status in Yugoslavia.

Serbia Has Shown What Sort of Yugoslavia It Wants

[Question] Some people nowadays, particularly outside Serbia, are asking where this is going and what Serbia wants.

[Ljubicic] I do not know why they do not ask where all the republics are going and what is happening in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia, as each one has its own problems. Serbia and all the other republics are obliged to contribute to sorting out the situation in the country. Responsibility is the same for everyone. Because of the size of its population, Serbia should make special efforts to strengthen Yugoslavia, which is what she is doing.

The responsible people in Serbia have already explained several times what Serbia wants at this moment. That is, for it to have the same rights on its territory as all the other republics. This is its right. It would then be one republic with two provinces instead of being divided into three parts. We think that during the National Liberation War and the revolution, Serbia demonstrated and showed what sort of Yugoslavia it wants.

In its struggle, it confirmed that it wants a strong and unified Yugoslavia on AVNOJ principles, that is a socialist self-managing federal community where all peoples and nationalities would live on an equal footing in brotherhood and unity—it wants Tito's Yugoslavia, and therefore a Republic of Serbia with no more and no fewer rights than the other republics.

It can be said that Serbia and the workers movement of Serbia were always for a revolutionary democratic course of development. After the eighth Serbian LC Central Committee session, this course was perhaps more stressed and emphasized. The need for greater unity, responsibility, and a quicker solution to problem was stressed, as well as the demand for a quicker resolution of the situation in Kosovo in particular.

Some prominent processes are perhaps not developing at the rate that was desired. The slow and difficult development of the constitutional changes, the excessively slow resolution of the situation in Kosovo, and other things certainly contributed to this. All this, as well as the difficult economic situation, certainly had the effect of halting some questions, which created the quandary among people who follow events in Serbia from outside about "where Serbia is going."

The mass rallies of the people under the banner of brotherhood and unity, which demanded the quicker resolution of the Kosovo problem, should not be condemned because there were sporadic nationalist manifestations at some of these meetings. This does not mean that one should not fight an even more resolute battle against Serbian nationalism, but it is unacceptable to equate the people with individual groups of nationalists.

[Question] It seems that people in other communities do not have the right information about the progressive currents of reform and the democratic processes in Serbia.

[Ljubicic] It is incorrect to represent these processes in some places as nationalism and compare them to the "mass movement" [nationalist movement in Croatia in the 1970's]. It is possible that this is being done for the sake of withholding information and as time passes, it is being shown in these communities that such a representation of Serbia is untrue. For communities not to have good and exact information about the processes in Serbia is not in the interests of Serbia, these communities, or all of Yugoslavia.

It must be clear to everyone in Serbia, as well as everywhere in Yugoslavia, that forces exist which want to corrode the revolutionary movement. It can be seen everywhere, even in Serbia, how they are trying to sneak into revolutionary progressive communities in order to paralyze and eat away at them. It can often be seen that various individuals and groups are sneaking into the mainstream of our reality under the banner of "the pluralism of interests" and attempt to realize their desires and wishes.

Considering that these antisocialist forces are not tired from the struggle for the survival and development of Yugoslavia and do not sit in on long and exhausting meetings, those rested and fresh but skillful "swimmers" are often the first to be found where they should not be.

I think that Communists and particularly all forums should more quickly free themselves of such people who have wandered accidentally or deliberately into our communities. With the greater activity of everyone, not just of Central Committees, and with the greater involvement of the communal and especially basic organizations of the LC, new relations should be built in the LC.

The People Want Changes and a Way Out of the Crisis

[Question] It has frequently been the case recently that the public has been showered with negative aspects, but only with negative aspects in other communities, with those with whom we do not agree.

[Ljubicic] According to how we see other people's mistakes and omissions, it would seem that everything is good in our country, but it is not. There are good things everywhere, as well as those things that should be criticized and put to one side. By searching for and presenting only mistakes, we have created the impression among the public, among working people, that everything is good all over the world and only in our country is everything bad. There definitely are mistakes and omissions, but there are also results.

[Question] Working people are dissatisfied with the situation that we have today.

[Ljubicic] It is now too late to ask who is to blame for this dissatisfaction. We are all to blame, only some to a lesser and others to a greater degree. This includes the organs of the federation, the republics, provinces, and communes. It should be asked where and when we made all the mistakes. We should have the answer so that future leaders will make smaller mistakes.

It is now pointless to ask why it is easy for people to gather en masse. Unresolved questions on the living standard, Kosovo, disharmony among some leaders, lack of perspectives, and the lack of solutions to problems—all this forces people to demand solutions from their leaders through mass gatherings or work stoppages.

Under such conditions of amassed dissatisfaction, people are calling for the replacement of leading teams. They are replacing both those who should be replaced, who deserve to be replaced, and those who should be retained. We could be angry with the present situation, but not angry with people, but with us ourselves for not doing things differently.

People in other republics could wonder about what is happening in Serbia; they could be suspicious of its intentions. However, it would be better to, instead of being suspicious, come down here and see things for themselves, make their own judgment.

Whether the leaderships like it or not, all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia want changes; they want a way out of this situation. If the leaderships are not able to offer a solution, then the people will have to look for them themselves. Changes are already taking place. They have already happened in Vojvodina, in some places in Serbia, and in some other places.

This Will Be a Revolutionary Move

[Question] What do you think these changes will bring?

[Ljubicic] If we choose the right people, the right cadres for the present and the future, and if they stay in touch with those who elected them, if they carry out the wishes of the people, then these changes will be revolutionary.

If the cadre changes are accompanied by changes in the state administration, if the ties between the state and citizens are made simpler, if we reduce excessive and enormous social superstructure, if we carry out a social and antibureaucratic reform, then these cadre changes will give a new impetus to our country's development—this will be a revolutionary move.

Great political and social responsibility will be borne by all leaderships and leading people who contribute with their conduct to disunity in the LC, the veterans' organization, and thus to disunity among our peoples.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and the Central Committee should make it clear which issues and which people are contributing to disunity, and should, of course, take an appropriate course of action.

The LC Should Carry Out People's Demands and Wishes

In my view this is a continuity and application of Tito's method of making the LC active under present circumstance. The LC should carry out the demands and wishes of the people and workers class. It should be in a permanent contact with those who create revenue and new values.

It should clearly separate the responsibilities of all; it should specify who should do what.

We can carry out the social reform and work that needs to be done only if we are united. We need a LC which will preserve and further build our society on the achievements of our revolution, brotherhood and unity, and the AVNOJ Yugoslavia.

We need an LC which will be able to fight against its own mistakes on its own territory, against the mistakes of leading people and forums. This means a showdown with opportunism and opportunists.

We need an LC which will not be indifferent to attacks on Tito, the revolution, and the LC, attacks that are trying to devalue the revolution's achievements and everything that has been created so far. We need an LC which will not be indifferent to attempts to present the participants in the revolution and all Communists as dishonest people and in this way remove the LC from the political scene.

The new conditions in the development of our society certainly require changes in the method of the LC's work. Therefore, changes, which is to say the reform of the LC, is a very responsible job and must be approached with extreme care and seriousness. I think that we should proceed with these changes, but retain Tito's course in the work of the LC.

We should create the LC which suits working people, who will feel it through their organization. I think that we all agree that we should not have any more sessions like the last one.

[Question] Considering that there is disunity in the political leadership, does this disunity exist in the SFRY Presidency, and to what extent?

[Ljubicic] So far we have more or less been fully united on all issues. All our decisions have been made unanimously, even the one concerning the new president of the FEC. We did not hold a ballot. We reached an agreement without any difficulties. The republics and provinces also reached an agreement; therefore, we did not have any problems either.

Of course, occasionally some people in the Presidency differ in their views from the majority, but this has never created disunity. We always managed to have correct relations and we have managed to maintain the continuity of such relations. However, whether we could have done better or more is another question.

[Question] Did the SFRY Presidency play a part in the use of force during the October events in Montenegro, and to what extent?

[Ljubicic] We agreed that some measures should be introduced in the initial stage (the introduction of patrols), but not with what the authorities there did. We insisted on law and order, but not that the militia should be used—this was not the SFRY Presidency's decision. This was done at the request of the Montenegrin leadership of that time, which was of the opinion that this was needed.

The Eighth Serbian LC Central Committee Session Is the Continuation of Tito's Course

[Question] Recently the LC of Serbia was reproached for not reacting properly against those who belittle Comrade Tito and his work.

[Ljubicic] Such attempts exist everywhere, not only in Serbia, and they come from anticommunists antisocialists. I personally think that in the case of Serbia these accusations are unfounded. The same applies to other republics. What is important to me in all this? When I speak about the links with people, with the workers class, about the vision which is being carried out in Serbia, internal organization—I think that the Eighth Serbian LC Central Committee session represents the continuation of Tito's course. This is why I supported the course that has been pursued after the session: that problems should be resolved in a democratic way, publicly, and jointly with the people, that the struggle for real socialism should continue, and that the LC should become a real workers party.

Serbia must develop its economic potentials; it must link up with other republics and provinces. Serbia wants a unified Yugoslavia. It will support everything new and progressive. Serbia has a young and unified generation. In Serbia there is unity between the leadership and the workers class, the people and youth, the kind of relations we have not had here for a long time.

[The following three passages, each with its own subhead, appear boxed within the body of the item]

What Kind of LC We Need

We still need the LC to create a political climate that would make it possible for our socialist self-managing society to dissociate itself from saboteurs and people who talk but fail to do anything, from people who do not work and do not build, and from demoralized people who do not see results and the possibility of finding a way out of difficulties—as somebody has put it: "One should replace those people who forecast a hopeless future, those who lament present times and fail to offer or do something to change the situation."

One should dissociate oneself from those people who exaggerate mistakes; who, while attacking mistakes attack socialism and self-management; and who, be it deliberately or not, want to throw the baby out with the bathwater. Therefore, what we need is an LC which is capable of leading our society out of all the difficulties and capable of opening up prospects for the development of our socialist society.

Since the eighth session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia, the LC of Serbia has started down this road. It should continue to implement Tito's course of LC development.

The Serbian People Have Never Threatened Anybody

[Question] Before the war, the Serbian people were accused of exploiting others. Now, when the only thing Serbia wants is to be equal with others—which is being misinterpreted—should one have to constantly defend oneself againt such accusations? Why is it that in a fraternal community, a nation which has made great sacrifices for Yugoslavia is the most frequently accused?

[Ljubicic] Nobody can, at least not publicly, be against Serbia having the right to realize what other republics already have. Nobody can unjustifiably attack Serbia because the Serbian bourgeoisie used to exploit others. Well, Croatian, Slovene, and all the other bourgeoisies also exploited people. No nation can live well with such a system, particularly not a nation which is being exploited.

The workers movement in Serbia has always been progressive. The Serbian people have never threatened anybody. On the contrary, they always had to defend themselves, and even now they have to defend themselves from such accusations. There were some accusations, even in Vojvodina, that Serbia was robbing others. However, these are not new theses. The only new thing is that the proponents of these theses are now afraid of what happened in Vojvodina and Montenegro.

I Have Always Followed My Convictions

[Question] An open letter from Admiral Sveto Letica appeared recently, and is full of allusions to Serbia, its leadership, and its nationalism. In his letter, Adm Letica asks why Nikola Ljubicic remains silent.

[Ljubicic] I know Adm Letica very well and I respect him very much. I believe that his concern is well-meant and that he is probably influenced by the local propaganda—all these things people talk about there—about Serbia going into a new mass movement, about nationalism in Serbia, about new Serbian leadership working in this or the other way. This is probably the reason he addressed the public in such a way. Some fellow fighters call me, asking about Adm Letica's accusations and why I fail to reply. Let all the people who are worried about events in Serbia come and see for themselves what is being done here. Serbia has always been opened to all well-meaning people.

I remember the times of mass movement in Croatia, when problems were being solved there, because I took an active part in the process. I was convinced then that the situation should be solved just as was done later with liberalism in Serbia. I have always followed my convictions. At the eighth Serbian LC Central Committee session, I was convinced of the correctness of that policy. I shall support such a policy as long as it follows revolutionary and progressive positions. This is why I think that it is important that people are correctly and well-informed about the situation.

Pancevski Comments on Interrepublic Relations

AU1702192489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 89 p 10

[D.N. report: "Life Interests of Macedonians Negated"]

[Text] Skopje, 14 Feb—In his interview to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Milan Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that the last 60 years have been marked by a clear process of the total disintegration of Yugoslav society and the absolutization of particularistic interests, and that in this period bureaucracy and statism were gaining in strength at all levels. Recently, these unfavorable tendencies have escalated into open proposals for various forms of redesigning Yugoslavia and some kind of "regrouping" of forces within the federation, that is to say among republics.

Under these circumstances, Pancevski stressed, there are some totally unacceptable theses and direct, as well as indirect, pressures on Macedonia to join various groupings, which is to say to come out in general terms and a priori in favor of or against certain republics or provinces, in favor of or against certain persons on the Yugoslav political scene. According to him, these phenomena are "agitating public opinion in the republic and causing unclear, even confused, consciousness and reaction." These pressures and unacceptable reaction, be it in the republic or elsewhere in the country, have manifested themselves through the thesis "that Macedonia is in alliance with this or that republic, and that the republic is characterized by dogmatic and undemocratic relations and primitive social awareness. Some parts of the country criticize Macedonia for not speaking its mind, for Macedonian people being silent, that Macedonia has not taken any sides, that it is sitting on the fence." Pancevski said that "isolated phenomena that follow, directly or indirectly, this game and these calculations" have started to emerge in the republic.

All these "divisions, confrontations, and groupings in the Yugoslav arena represent a direct negation of the basic and long-term life interests of all peoples and nationalities, including the Macedonian people, which have always been and will be in favor of joint living on equal footing; which have always been against isolationism, divisions, and confrontations with anybody," Pancevski stressed. Therefore, Pancevski continued, the SR of Macedonia has never spoken and will never speak "for or against somebody, but will support the realization of the vital interests of all peoples and nationalities in the country if they are in favor of a Yugoslav and workers class platform." He then went on to say that the reaction against various events in other communities—and which distort the true situation, belittle or even negate the essence of the Macedonian nation—"cannot be regarded as Macedonian nationalism, or too sensitive a reaction, or some kind of negatively motivated reaction and attitude directed against certain peoples and nationalities in other republics and provinces."

According to Pancevski, "we must face much more openly and take part much more directly in the elimination of the phenomenon of privatizing or monpolizing public opinion and the public information media" in order to "reveal the deep antidemocratic state of affairs and phenomena which represent the monopoly of power and one's own truth, and the imposition of these on others—that is to say disrespect for other opinions and hindering a democratic dialogue." This is accompanied by "extremely irresponsible, unfounded, and tendentious labeling of people in the name of democracy, which is taking place in almost all communities, something that only serves political showdowns and power struggles. This is ruining the constructive criticism and accountability as normal social phenomena. In some communities there are general nihilistic phenomena, destructive psychoses and speeches, which stem from the objective inability and impotence to find the way out of the crisis and open up development prospects," Milan Pancevski said in his interview to NOVA MAKEDONIJA.

Results of Poll on Political System Released

AU1402151189

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA, in Serbo-Croatian on 13 February on page five, carries the results of a poll conducted by BORBA. The poll was concerned with two questions: 1. "Which is, in your view, the best political system for Yugoslavia?" and 2. "What country would you like Yugoslavia to resemble?"

The size of the sample was "120 people, who were randomly chosen from the telephone directories of three large cities within each of the six republics—15 from each city, plus a control group of five people from each republic. [all figures as published]" The people polled were asked about their profession, age, and membership in the LCY. The poll was conducted by six researchers.

The following tables represent the results of the poll.

Table 1. Which is, in your view, the best political system for Yugoslavia? [in percentages]

Republic	Self-managing socialism	LC members	Real socialism	LC members	Bourgeois democracy of a parliamentary type	LC members
Bosnia	85	25	5	-	5	-
Macedonia	85	55	10	-	5	-
Slovenia	50	5	-	-	30	5
Serbia	70	60	15	5	15	5
Croatia	40	20	5	-	20	-
Montenegro	85	40	10	5	5	-

	Dictatorship	LC members	Monarchy	LC members	Something else	LC members	Do not know	LC members
Bosnia	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slovenia	-	-	5	-	5	-	10	90
Serbia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Croatia	5	-	-	-	20	-	10	80
Montenegro	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2. What country would you like Yugoslavia to resemble? [in percentages]

Bosnia		LC members	Macedonia		LC members
1. itself	50	40	1. itself	60	40
2, United States	15		2. United States	15	
3. Sweden	15		3. Sweden	5	5
4. CSSR	5		4. USSR	5	5
5. Great Britain	5	5	5. Great Britain	5	5
6. Switzerland	5		6. Switzerland	5	
7. France	5		7. SFRY of 10 years ago	5	5

Slovenia		LC members	Serbia		LC members
1. itself	30	5	1. itself	40	25
2. any developed country	25	10	2. Sweden	15	
3. Sweden	15	5	3. United States	10	5
4. Switzerland	10		4. FRG	10	5
5. FRG	5	5	5. USSR	5	
6. Italy	5		6. Great Britain	5	
7. Do not know	10		7. Denmark	5	5
			8. Switzerland	5	
			9. GDR	5	

Croatia		LC members	Montenegro		LC members
1. itself	40	30	1. itself	40	40
2. none	15		2. USSR	20	10
3. Switzerland	10		3. Sweden	10	5
4. France	10		4. France	10	5
5. United States	5		5. FRG	10	
6. Sweden	5		6. Switzerland	5	
7. FRG	5		7. Italy	5	
8. Japan	5				
9. Spain	5				"

The BORBA report also carries the following table:

Most popular countries

	Choice in
1. SFRY	43
2. Sweden	10
3. Switzerland	6.6
4. USSR	6
5. France	4
6. FRG	4
7. Great Britain	2.5
8. Italy	1.6
9. Denmark	0.9
10. GDR	0.9
11. Japan	0.9
12. Spain	0.9"